



ARM THE SPIRIT

A REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS NEWSPAPER

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people."

—George Jackson, prison organizer/revolutionary,
assassinated by San Quentin guards August 21, 1971.

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Message from the Editors

Support New Afrikan Freedom Fighters

The united states of amerikkka is now in an acute state of economic crisis. Since there are no signs of anything but worsening conditions, Ronald Reagan has made his move to try and save it from destruction.

New Afrikan, in particular, along with Puerto Ricans, Chicano/Mexicanos, Native Americans and other oppressed nations within the u.s. domestic empire, are the primary target of Reagan's war on working and poor people. The war is growing worse as the white workers are clamoring for what they are being told is "theirs"—the few jobs being held by colonized people.

We must now put all internal contradictions behind us because we need to put the primary contradiction at the forefront of our struggle. That contradiction is the enemy state which is waging war in many forms against the black nation. Our response must be varied and in kind to match and surpass what is being employed against us.

We have to push our own contradictions aside also because we understand from long history the u.s. ability to exploit them at a time when we can least afford it. The cia has just been given legal authority to resume operations inside the u.s. COINTELPRO is still alive so we have to be very careful with what we say and hear said or written about others.

Our Freedom Fighters must be given active support. There can no longer be an effort to try and hold them back because the "masses ain't ready." They have to be made ready through organization and a correct political line that includes armed struggle as a necessity. The masses had BETTER be ready on the need for it because the state is waging war on us on several fronts--and our people are dying--whether we choose to fight back or not.

The enemy is not giving us time to "wait til the masses are ready to accept" it. He sends his armed for-

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July, 1981 demonstration by the Committee to Honor New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, Harlem, N.Y.

A Message From the Underground B.L.A. COMMUNIQUE

On the Strategic Alliance of the Armed Military Forces of Revolutionary Nationalist and Anti-Imperialist Movements

Issued: November 5, 1981

On October 20th, 1981, under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army, Black Freedom Fighters and North American Anti-Imperialists, all members of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, attempted an expropriation of \$1.6 million from an armored Brinks truck.

Brother Sekou Odinga, our comrade who was captured in Queens, was not involved in the Brinks incident. Sister Fulani Sunni Ali, Chairperson of the Peoples' Center Council of the Republic of New Afrika, was not involved in the Brinks incident in any fashion, and is not a member of the Black Liberation Army. Eve Rosahn was not involved in the Brinks incident, nor is she a member of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force.

Although there have been historical differences between Black Revolutionary Freedom Fighters and North American Anti-Imperialists, there were over-riding events that called for this significant alliance. These events were:

1. The killing of Black men in Buffalo.
2. The collaboration of the KKK and the FBI in North Carolina and the subsequent disclosure of Bill Wilkinson as an FBI informant.

3. Fourteen unsolved murders of Black women in Boston.
4. The on-going murders of children in Georgia.
5. The shooting of four Black women in Alabama.
6. The stabbing deaths of Black men in New York City.
7. The use of the KKK, Police, and the United States Army as mercenaries in the Dominica invasion.
8. The KKK use of the Department of Parks for its war re-enactment or para-military training. This is a clear indication of government support for right-wing fascist military training.
9. The government assassination of Black activist Yolanda Ward in Washington, D.C.
10. The consistent use of mercenary forces in putting down the Miami Rebellion.

Based upon an evaluation of these events, a de-centralized intelligence strategy was embarked upon by the revolutionary forces to determine the capability to separate rhetoric from real military action, especially concerning the capability of vigilante armies and armies outside the United States military complex that can implement terror on the Black and Third World population and to assess the McCarthy-like period we are in--and to devise a response.

An intensive two-year investiga-

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ces, helped out by right wing paramilitary organizations, into our communities, shoots down our men, women, and children at will, and go on about their business like it's nothing.

ATS is in agreement with the BLA statement that the time to respond is NOW. Our people are being murdered--NOW. We are being kicked out of our jobs and homes--NOW. NOW is the time we are going hungry and being miseducated. Ready or not, our children are being destroyed--NOW.

Nobody asked Eula Love if she was ready to have cops riddle her body with bullets, or 10-year-old Clifford Glover if he was ready to be shot in the back by pig O'Shea (who is still on the beat in New York as far as we can tell), or young Tyrone Guyton and Melvin Black if they and countless others were ready for the war when killer kops took their lives.

Who asked McDuffie in Miami or Miller in Brooklyn, or the little girls in the Birmingham church if they were ready? Who ever got us ready for anything? It is absurd to

think we have to sit back and wait for the people's support before we can begin to take the war back to the imperialist dog!

Within our own Black Liberation Movement, Freedom Fighters have the problem of winning broad based mass support. By now, we can see we can't rely on organizations as they exist now to initiate programs and give concrete support to armed struggle.

That means Freedom Fighters must themselves take on this task as an added responsibility. We must gain our people's support through our own initiative by putting our own politics in command without placing our faith in forces who obviously want no part of carrying out their revolutionary duty. We have to do it.

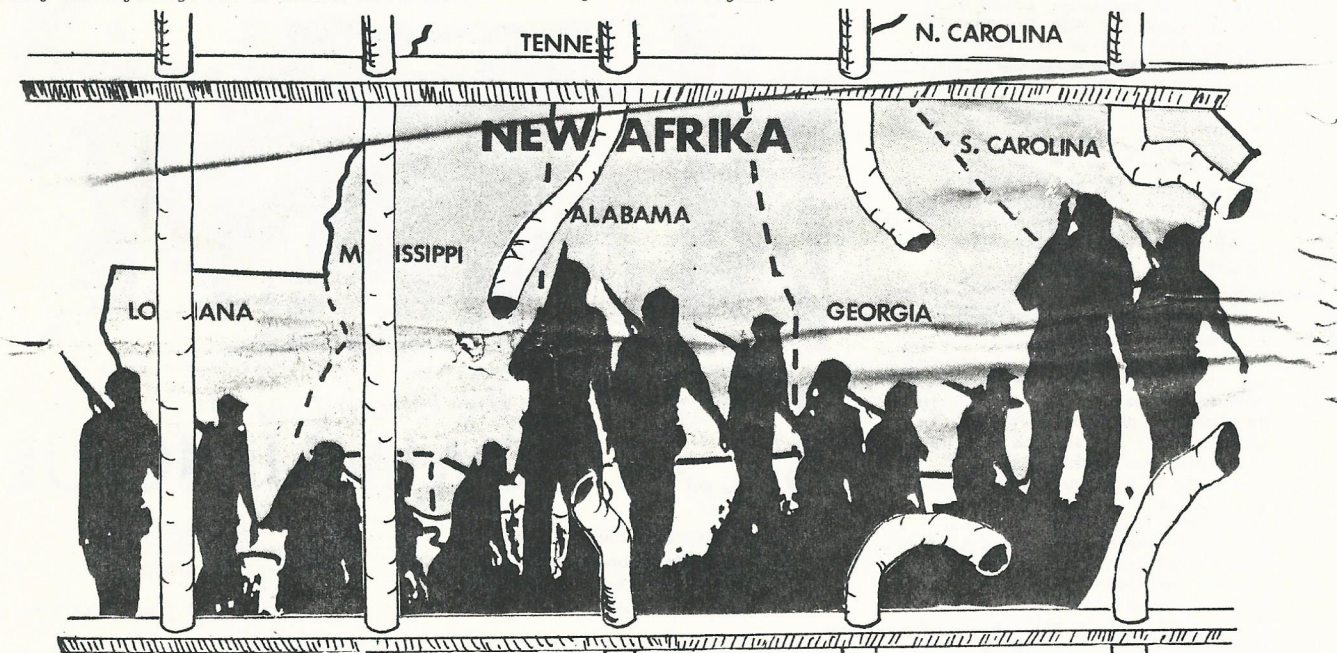
ARM THE SPIRIT hails the formation of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force under the leadership of the BLA as a long overdue step. It is our hope that Freedom Fighters from all the liberation movements will combine some of their operations. We have one common enemy and the same basic objective. And North American anti-imperialists do have an obligation to join in the national liberation wars in an all-out effort to bring down this regime,

which also has the heavy hand on their own working class people.

We recognize the October 20 expropriation attempt by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force was unsuccessful, but we also see the mere thought of a real link between forces having the same purpose threw the supposedly invulnerable amerikkan giant into a state of panic. The u.s. understands better than anyone the important role a broadened revolutionary base would play in weakening its stranglehold on the world. We call on all progressive and revolutionary people to give full support to the imprisoned combatants of the BLA and the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, and to the comrades who are in jail for resisting the grand jury attacks.

The current propaganda campaign against Libya's leader, Col. Muammar Khadafi, is just one example of how the u.s. imperialists build a political climate in order to justify a particular action it plans to take. We believe if there were a real plot to kill Reagan he would have been wrapped up tighter than a mummy and not a word uttered to the public until the alleged would-be assassins

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Position Paper of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika on the Arrest of People's Center Council Chairperson Fulani Sunni Ali

Issued November 2, 1981

On October 27, 1981 at 6:00 A.M., only five days after the assassination of New Afrikan Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata by agents of the u.s. government in New York, approximately 200 agents of the united states FBI armed with four tanks, two helicopters, automatic weapons, rifles, pistols and other weapons of war, surrounded the residence of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika in Gallman, Mississippi. This grotesque and massive display of military might was utilized by this predominantly white gang of u.s. agents to arrest two women, twelve children, and the fifty-eight year old grandfather of five of the children involved. Among those arrested was Fulani Sunni Ali. Sister Fulani is the Chairwoman of the Peoples Center Council (PCC) of the Provisional Government of the RNA. The PCC is the Provisional Govern-

ment's legislature. Fulani is also the mother of five children and an outstanding vocalist.

The other two adults and the children have now been released, however Sister Fulani Sunni Ali remains in FBI custody pending payment of a half million dollars in ransom (bail bond) to the united states courts. She is being held on a totally fabricated charge of conspiracy to commit bank robbery and accessory to murder. The charge attempts to connect her with a Brinks car incident which occurred in New York. Her arrest is part of the u.s. government's admitted efforts to destroy, disrupt, and discredit the Black Liberation Movement in general, and the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika in particular. Hundreds of thousands of pages of secret memoranda uncovered during various legal suits and u.s. Congressional and Senate investiga-

tions disclosed the existence of an illegal and secret war the u.s. FBI, CIA, Army, Navy, and Air Force were waging against the Black Liberation Movement along with local and state police and various other right wing organizations like the ku klux klan. Sister Fulani's arrest signals that the war is still in process. Indeed, Ronald Reagan is now pushing legislation which would legalize the government's anti-Black movement activities.

After initiating the 6:00 A.M., 200 agent siege of the three Black adults and twelve children in Gallman, Mississippi, the FBI charged that the "Republic of New Afrika" was a terrorist organization. At first glance, it may appear incredible that an organization which used 200 armed troops, four tanks, and two helicopters to arrest two women, a 58-year old grandfather and twelve

See RNA p.15

Statement by the National Black Human Rights Coalition

Regarding the Arrest of Fulani Sunni-Ali
(aka Cynthia Boston), the search for Assata Shakur,
the Black Liberation Army and the "Brinks" Conspiracy

November 4, 1981

For the last two weeks, the world and the American public has been exposed to and witnessed a sensationalized propaganda campaign around the so-called "radical network" of "terrorism" inside the United States of America. This "radical network" has been linked to the so-called "growing wave of international terrorism." So-called "radical terrorists" inside the U.S. have been linked to the Irish Republican Army, the People's Republic of Cuba, and the Soviet Union. The Weather Underground and the Black Panther Party have been resurrected and linked to the Black Liberation Army, the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN), both armed clandestine organizations, the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PGRNA) and May 19th Communist Organization. The PGRNA is a public democratically structured above ground Black liberation force with a 15 year track record in our people's struggle; it has now been labeled as a "terrorist" organization. The May 19th Communist Organization is a public activist organization of progressive whites who have consistently supported the liberation struggles of Africans and other Third World peoples inside and outside the U.S.A. The May 19th Organization has been labeled by the FBI as a "clandestine terrorist" coalition of the BLA and the Weather Underground. We see this slander of public progressive organizers by the

FBI is a first ditch effort of the Reagan Administration to isolate progressive activists through dirty tricks and the same character assassination that is reminiscent of the Nixon Era and the FBI's Cointelpro (Counter-Intelligence Program) program of J. Edgar Hoover designed to "expose, disrupt, misdirect or otherwise neutralize" the activities of the Black Liberation Movement.

We as Black Human Rights activists question who are the real terrorists when we see Black men and women hunted down, tortured, and denied their basic constitutional and human rights while being slandered in a high profile propaganda campaign. Last week America and the world witnessed one Black man, Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata (aka Samuel Smith), whose dead, bullet riddled body was displayed on national media. We wonder who are the real terrorists when while in custody of law enforcement agents, New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Sekou Odinga (Nathaniel Burns) is hospitalized because of the torture he has received during interrogation. According to one of his attorneys, William Kunstler, Odinga was beaten, burned with cigars, choked with chains, half drowned in a toilet and subjected to a few games of "Russian roulette." We wonder who are the real terrorists, when for two days, after she had been extradited from Mississippi to New York, Fulani Sunni-Ali,

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Statement to the Press by the May 19th Communist Organization

NOV. 2, 1981 BLACK SOLIDARITY DAY

May 19th Communist Organization is participating in this press conference called by the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika to extend our full solidarity to the captured combatants, the Black liberation movement and in particular the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. We are also here to correct the lies and distortions that have appeared in the press concerning our organization.

Since October 20th, the day of the alleged robbery in Nyack, NY, the U.S. government has engaged in acts of terrorism against the Black liberation struggle, its supporters, and the Black community in general. Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata (slave name Sam Smith), a New Afrikan freedom fighter, was murdered in cold blood by Detective Irwin Jacobson of the New York Police Department. New Afrikan freedom fighter Sekou Odinga (slave name Nathaniel Burns), a long-time leader in the Black liberation struggle, is now in Kings County Hospital because he was tortured by the New York City Police Department --he was beaten, burned with cigars, a gun was held to his head and the trigger pulled when he would not give answers to the cops, and his head was immersed in a flushing toilet. We fully support Comrade Sekou Odinga.

There are four combatants--Samuel Brown, Judith Clark, Kathy Boudin, and David Gilbert--who were captured on October 20th. These comrades

have all been long-time activists in the struggles for human rights and self-determination for the Black nation and all oppressed nations. Since 1978, Judy Clark has been a member and public spokesperson for May 19th Communist Organization. They have been beaten, held without bail, and placed in solitary confinement. Their arraignment was held in an armed camp and the public was totally excluded. Samuel Brown has been beaten and denied medical care. Their present conditions include: 23 hours a day solitary confinement in the box; no visits from friends and supporters; no contact visits from parents or their children; no contact with each other even though they are co-defendants; denial of access to the lawyer of their choice, Chokwe Lumumba, on the order of the Rockland County District Attorney.

Our organization fully supports the captured combatants and we demand an end to these illegal and punitive conditions.

The events at Nyack have been used to unleash an unprecedented reign of terror against the Black liberation struggle and all progressive movements in this country, in particular the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and May 19th Communist Organization.

Sister Fulani Sunni-Ali, a committed fighter for the human rights of Black people in this country and

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Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata

History of a Revolutionary Nationalist Freedom Fighter

On October 23, 1981, Comrade Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata, a revolutionary Black man from Bed/Sty section of Brooklyn, was shot down and assassinated by Queens detectives acting as agents of the U.S. government.

Comrade Mtayari was a true believer and compatriot of Black People's struggle for Land and Independence. He worked day and night for changes in the oppressive conditions inside the Black community, the Oceanhill Brownsville struggle for community control of education being a major battle. In 1968 he joined the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. He was the first Consul for the Brooklyn Consulate.

On December 10, 1970, Brother Sundiata was viciously beaten by pigs in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn. When he went to court he could not recognize his own mother or wife. He had been accused of shooting two racist pigs in Brooklyn. The Brooklyn police department told Brother Mtayari that they would some day get him. This threat was real and changed his life and the life of his family.

For seven years he was imprisoned. During this time, he became more convinced that his life and Black People's freedom would only come thru Revolution. The horrible conditions of prison only strengthened his conviction and purpose in the Black liberation struggle. Brother Sundiata studied hours upon hours and became a skilled expert in martial arts and revolutionary struggle. He was feared greatly by the prison authorities for his deep intelligence and keen understanding of who Black People's real enemy is.

When he was released from prison, Comrade Sundiata offered himself unselfishly to the continued struggle for Blacks' liberation. He lived, trained and struggled for the righteous will and spirit of the Black masses. He had developed himself into a Revolutionary New Afrikan Freedom Fighter. This automatically made him a target and inevitable victim of the FBI, CIA and local police department; and they were de-

See Mtayari Sundiata p.15

Update

Since Oct. 20, the FBI has continued its reign of terror, carrying out illegal raids and harassing parents, friends and associates of the RNA and May 19th and supporters of the BLA. A federal grand jury impaneled in NY has issued at least 4 subpoenas. The government was forced to drop criminal charges against Sister Fulani Sunni-Ali when it was proven that she was in New Orleans on Oct. 20--they responded by subpoenaing her to testify. She has taken a position of complete non-collaboration with the Justice Department's attempts to use the Grand Jury to gather information. On Dec. 7, she was imprisoned for the life of the grand jury (18-36 months) for her refusal to testify.

Eve Rosahn of May 19th was also jailed for non-cooperation, as was Sister Yasmine Fula who was incarcerated Dec. 2. Sister Jeri Gaines, an RNA citizen who was in the farmhouse in Mississippi when Fulani was first arrested, was also subpoenaed.

This grand jury is a clear attempt

See Update p.11

AN INTERVIEW WITH DON JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER

—Secretary-General, Liga Socialista Puertorriquena



This interview originally appeared in Spanish in the Nov. 1981 issue of Pensamiento Critico, an independent left journal in Puerto Rico. --ATS.

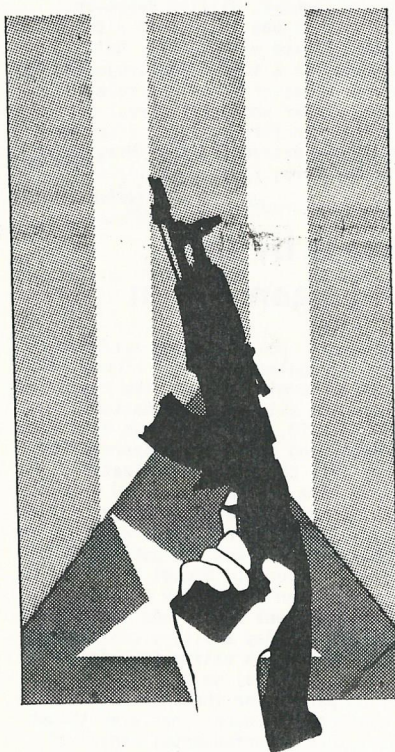
Editor's note: Continuing with the purpose of fostering a fraternal dialog within the socialist and independentist movement in our country, we recently carried on a dialog-interview with companero Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP). Given the importance of the case of Alfredo Mendez, who was transformed from a revolutionary militant to a collaborator with the FBI, and due to the statements of Companero Corretjer on this issue, we initiate our interchange on this subject.

Pensamiento Critico (P.C.): Concerning the case of Alfredo Mendez you elaborated some positions, in an article recently published in Pensamiento Critico, about the intentions of the FBI to destroy this human being; and in a certain sense you outlined the psychological attacks on Alfredo Mendez by this repressive agency. But you ended the article on an optimistic tone that Alfredo Mendez was going to be able to combat the attacks of the FBI. History has shown us the opposite. How do you see the process of Alfredo Mendez, which has taken him from a militant...or from an apparent militant of a revolutionary movement, to an enemy of the people of Puerto Rico?*

Juan Antonio Corretjer (JAC): With respect to the optimism of my conclusions, it was a limited optimism, a rare thing with me. I am an optimist—by temperament, psychology. I don't know why, but I am an optimist. Concerning the specific case of Mendez, what I put forward was that it was insubstantial to what conclusion we could arrive at, if Alfredo resisted or if he didn't resist. The basic problem was that whatever Alfredo Mendez had already decided for the future, it was and is necessary to emphasize the attack on the heads, on those responsible for this whole combination of factors of the destruction of the will of a human being, of a human as a representative of a species superior to beasts. The very intention of bestialization which exists in imperialism's whole apparatus of intellectual formation, necessarily converts its transmitters into beasts. Animals who don't refrain from physical beatings, chemicals, injecting chemical agents, and psychiatric treatment to deform a personality, converting it into an ex-person, as they have done with Alfredo Mendez.

But the case of Alfredo Mendez has recently acquired in Puerto Rico one of the perspectives which we had foreseen, and which is already no-

ticeable. It is the case of the foolish, mal-intentioned accusations made by the Police Superintendent of Puerto Rico a few hours ago, about the Puerto Rican professional world, especially about lawyers and doctors. Well, why does the Police Superintendent, and I call him by his official title, say what he has just said publicly regarding this? This comes directly from the office of the president of the United States. The U.S. president, Reagan, has said that the essential preoccupation of his politics is anti-terrorism. Even though Carter had spoken of human rights which he never practiced, with the change from Carter to Reagan it has now become the public policy of the state, propounded and repeated from the mouth of the very president, that anti-terrorism is essential to the policy of the current north american imperialist state. What does terrorism mean to them? Everything that is opposed to them.



They have an ideological concept, that we must be prepared to combat ideologically and practically; because they pass immediately from ideology to practice. This is simultaneous for those in power.

What does the case of Alfredo Mendez have to do with all this? Well, it's the direct point: because in a document currently in the hands of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) in the U.S. (with a photocopy in the archives of the LSP) it is demonstrated how the president of the United States offers to direct and use his influence on a federal judge in Chicago, for him to guarantee Alfredo Mendez a suspended sentence, and public guarantees, a change of personality, and everything that physically guarantees Alfredo Mendez' betrayal of the Puerto Rican independentist movement. So

when the Police Superintendent of Puerto Rico speaks as he has recently, he is a puppet; but who inflates the puppet is the president of the U.S., as has been documented. He acts not only on the natural base we have always recognized, as the chief of the military intervention and political maneuvers in the case of Puerto Rico, in Puerto Rico itself; but also directly as a protagonist. He is penetrating personally, leading a maneuver against Puerto Rican independentism within his international terrorist policy; in order to broaden ideologically this concept they have of terrorism—not only to the clandestine groups of Puerto Rico; not only to the tolerated public left in Puerto Rico; but even passing on to the professional camp in general.

When are they going to particularize? We don't know. But it's easily remembered that Hitler began with the communists, followed with the Jews, and came close to finishing with the whole German people, with all of Europe and with the whole world. And these fools, led by those behind Reagan—and to whom Reagan gives their leadership for rabblerrousing, not for their own people, but for their rabble—echo today in Puerto Rico, in the way it sounds, a resonance, a horn-blast, of the official terrorism of the president of the United States in this colony. Puerto Rico is a crown colony, in the ancient British concept of colonialism, directly dependent on the president of the U.S. in its political-military life.

P.C.: Entering now more into the fundamental aims of this interview, the Puerto Rico of today, and the tasks that confront the independentist movement and the revolutionary movement in this country; there exists a vision, a tendency within the independence camp, which maintains, if not directly then at least indirectly, the existence of autonomism as a political force, when it doesn't put forth that there is actually a patriotic tendency in it (autonomism). How real is this proposition for independentism, and how feasible is the so-called radicalization of leading sectors within the Popular Democrats towards more progressive positions, when they are not consonant with independentism?*

J.A.C.: I believe that this tendency is fatal. It's a very disgraceful tendency, that had been

*"Autonomism" is the proposal that Puerto Rico be an "associated state" of the U.S., with some more local government powers, but still controlled by the U.S. government. The vast U.S. military presence would remain, and Puerto Rico would have no army or foreign relations of its own. The Popular Democratic Party, (P.P.D.), the colonial party closely associated with the current commonwealth system of U.S. domination, is being identified with this approach. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, a left electoral party, has proposed an anti-statehood front of autonomists and independentists. -- ATS note.

*In July 1981, Alfredo Mendez, who had been disappeared for three months, was brought forward by the government as a state's witness against Prisoner of War Oscar Lopez Rivera in his illegal trial. Lopez Rivera was convicted of the charges of seditious conspiracy, "plotting to wage war on and overthrow the authority of the U.S. government." --ATS note.

GRAND JURY RESISTERS FACE PRISON

In the US government's latest attempt to repress the Puerto Rican independence movement, four Puerto Rican and Chicano Mexicano activists have been ordered to reappear before a federal Grand Jury on January 6, at which time they will go to prison for refusing to testify.

On December 16, Steven Guerra, Ricardo Romero and Julio Rosado, all members of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) and Andres Rosado, a supporter, appeared before a Grand Jury in Brooklyn where they were told that they would probably be imprisoned for six months.

In an appearance in federal court in November, Julio Rosado, speaking for the four, asserted their refusal to cooperate in any way with the Grand Jury witch hunt. He accused the federal government of once again attempting to isolate and destroy the armed clandestine Puerto-Rican independence organizations by attacking their public supporters.

Julio exposed how the US is using the Grand Jury as an extension of the FBI in an attempt to criminalize the struggle. He declared that as a member of the militarily intervened nation of Puerto Rico, he has the right as well as the historical responsibility to struggle for the independence of his nation. He asserted that having taken an oath to free Puerto Rico from 83 years of US colonialism, it would be traitorous of him to cooperate with the repressive Grand Jury or any other legal mechanisms of the colonizer.

Julio's strong political statement forced the judge to delay their appearance until December 16 and to order the government to provide evi-

dence that the four were subpoenaed to testify about an actual crime and not as part of a political harassment campaign. On the 16th, the judge received a sealed affidavit from the government, and he denied all motions to quash the subpoenas. Only the active protest by supporters of the Puerto Rican independence movement forced the Grand Jury to delay their imprisonment until January 6.

Four years ago the US government used two Federal Grand Juries in New York and Chicago in an attempt to crush the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional) and its supporters. At that time four of the same activists currently under subpoena, Julio, Ricardo, Maria and Andres, along with seven other Puerto Rican and Chicano Mexicano community leaders, were jailed for refusing to cooperate. However, the government's plans backfired. Not only did they fail to obtain any information, but in targeting both the Puerto Rican and Chicano Mexicano struggles, they precipitated a common movement of resistance involving activists from both colonized nations, which today has developed into a deep strategic unity between them.

The continued advancement of the armed struggle for Puerto Rican independence on the island and in the US, and the failure of other forms of repression to contain it, has forced the US government to go back to the Grand Jury. In addition to the Brooklyn Grand Jury, another federal Grand Jury sitting in San Juan has recently sent three Puerto Rican activists to jail for refusing to cooperate with it.



consecutively fostered in Puerto Rico by imperialism. To push independence towards autonomy, taking advantage of an inherited confusion, a confused heritage. What is that confused heritage? It's to think that the U.S. is a monarchy. With a monarchy, where the king represents the nation, the people, through what has come to be known historically as the royal nexus; then an autonomist relationship can be established, juridically speaking, between a colonized people and its metropole. Like that attempted by the Count of Aranda, through the Duke of Florida Blanca, who was the Prime Minister of Spain. When he first heard the recommendation of the Count of Aranda, Spanish Ambassador in Washington, that U.S. independence would lead inevitably to the independence of Latin America, he offered a plan to reorganize the empire on the basis of a relationship from the metropole, via the royal nexus, with the colonies; to create a series of vice-royalties,

with princes transferred from Spain and Europe, and thereby forestall independence and maintain the empire.

This tradition comes to Puerto Rico by way of the Venezuelan immigration which comes here fleeing Bolivar's sword. They bring culture, they bring money, and they are people of worth, as they said in those times. They are well-received, not only by the peninsular (Spanish) element, but also by the Puerto Ricans, by indecisive criollos who have experienced the war for Haitian independence and have seen what happened in Venezuela. Wishing to secure their interests, they united, seeking that which is most necessary for a dominant class wanting to maintain itself in power--a new ideology.

Thus that tradition comes to Puerto Rico and it covers the whole 19th Century, until it culminates, with a little frustration, in the Autonomous Act of 1897, in which the principle of royal nexus and the real autonomy of Puerto Rico vis a vis

However, as in the past, all these new attacks will be met with greater resistance. The crisis of colonialism in Puerto Rico is being accelerated by the growing Peoples' War for independence. This, coupled with the further growth of revolutionary solidarity in the US, will ensure the defeat of the current Grand Jury repression.

On November 13 and December 16, demonstrations protesting the Grand Jury were held in New York, Chicago, Denver, Boston, San Francisco and Chihuahua, Mexico. In Juarez, Mexico, over 700 people marched in protest in front of the US consulate. On November 14 over 300 people attended a program in New York in support of the Grand Jury resisters.

There will be demonstrations again on January 6, when the five return to Federal Court. Protest the Grand Jury's attempts to intimidate the Puerto Rican independence movement by building for the demonstrations, and by writing the US Attorney (Charles Rose, 225 Cadman Plaza East, Brooklyn, NY) demanding that the subpoenas be dropped.

--Newsletter of New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism

P.O.W. Torres Denied Medical Care

Prisoner of War, Maria Haydee Torres, has been suffering from a serious infection for the past four months and the administration of the MCC where she is being detained is not taking the necessary measures to provide her with adequate medical attention. Instead they suggest tranquilizers and prescribed antibiotics, telling her that her condition is chronic and would eventually develop into cancer.

We denounce this violation of human rights against Haydee and urge all progressive sectors, freedom loving people and advocates of human rights to do the same and demand that Haydee be examined by a physician of her choice in order to insure that she receives an expert diagnosis and proper medical treatment. We still have fresh in our mind the memory of Andres Figueroa Cordero, and we cannot allow the same to happen to Haydee.

Send your telegram or mailgram to: Warden, Metropolitan Correctional Center, 808 Union Street, San Diego, CA 92101. ●

Spain is established. And this statute--mind you, this is 1897--is more advanced with respect to the colony/empire relationship than the Statute of Westminster which in 1931 constitutes Canada as a dominion in relation to the British Crown. It is not only (as has been repeated ad nauseum) superior to any statutory relations between the U.S. and Puerto Rico; but more than that, even superior to the Statute of Westminster, which since 1931 has constituted Canada in a relationship with England where if it doesn't wish to participate, with the capacity to wage its own wars, without the empire being able to prevent it, without the British Crown being able to stop that. But in Puerto Rico today, where there is a colonial relationship with the U.S. which is a federal state, a sole federal state, there is no relationship of right possible between the colony and the metropolis; just as there is nothing that Puerto Rico can be, without

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BLACK AUGUST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE UNDER ATTACK

The Black August Organizing Committee is comprised of prisoners and former prisoners who define themselves as Afrikan revolutionaries dedicated to the national liberation of Afrikan people in this country and to the ongoing struggle against racism, exploitation and police brutality in prison and in the Afrikan community.

The concept of Black August developed inside the California prisons. It was a response to the need of Afrikan prisoners to form a principled political unity to effectively combat the racism and genocide against Afrikan people behind the walls.

Over a period of time, members have been released from prison and Black August has become rooted in the community. With the same dedication and energy as within prison, Black August has waged a battle to build support for political prisoners and prisoners of war, and to be a voice for those men and women still behind the walls. The organization has been a leading force in developing and reshaping the face and spirit of the prison movement. It has also built significant unity and solidarity between the prison movement and the struggles in El Salvador, Iran, the Native American struggle and other Third World and progressive movements.

Members of Black August were instrumental in developing the Prison Crisis Committee. This group, organized to respond to attacks against prisoners by prison guards and administrators, has organized a class action suit on behalf of San Quentin prisoners in the Adjustment Center who were beaten and tear gassed without provocation in April, 1981.

Black August works in support of political prisoners and prisoners of war, and has taken on struggles within the community against the Ku Klux Klan and issues of police brutality.

Black August members played a key role in the successful boycott of Berkeley's Pay 'n' Save store, dedicating themselves to working 12 hours a day on the picket line to protest the murder of Ricky Labusan by a security guard for allegedly shoplifting a bottle of aspirin.

As the work of Black August in the community became more visible and was clearly making an impact on the movement, the California Department of Corrections began to make its moves on the organization. In May, 1981, Heshimu (Lloyd Brice) was arrested in San Jose and charged with a conspiracy to murder, and is now facing the death penalty on these charges.

On October 16, at 5:30 a.m., the Special Service Unit and members of the Berkeley/Oakland police departments battered down the doors of four homes of Black August members and supporters, holding guns on the people inside, including small children, and ransacking the houses. During these raids, Jasiri (Harold Benson), Msemaji (Anderson Thurston) and Hashima (Michael Murdock) were arrested on the suspicion of parole violation. Hashima was released, then rearrested a few days later with another Black August member Sadiki (Willie Stafford). Hashima was again released. Although no criminal charges were ever filed and only recently flimsy parole violations were submitted by their parole officers, all three men have been imprisoned now for over 6 weeks. Community outrage at these arrests was shown through hundreds of signatures on petitions in their support and a program endorsed by over 20 different organizations which was held in Oakland on November 21 to support the Black August Organizing Committee.

Despite the growing support for the organization, the C.D.C. with the aid of the Berkeley Police

again attacked Black August members and arrested Hashima (Michael Murdock) and Chaka (Roy Gant) and charged them with the murder of a Berkeley man. This trumped up charge is clearly part of this latest series of arrests in the C.D.C.'s attempt to discredit and delegitimize the concrete work Black August has accomplished in reestablishing a foundation for the prison movement within the community.

Only a few days later, another member of Black August, Mafahali (Michael Stover) was arrested and charged with possession of weapons, despite the fact that he was not even in the same county when the guns were supposedly discovered in the trunk of his car during the morning raids of October 16.

In the face of these continued attacks, support for the Black August Organizing Committee is growing. Black August charges that the real criminals are the members of the C.D.C. and S.S.U. who are conspiring against the organization to destroy its revolutionary work. Black August calls on all progressive people to support and defend the organization against these attacks by the C.D.C./S.S.U. The attacks and arrests of Black August members are part of a larger repressive movement being launched against Black revolutionaries and other progressive forces all over the country and around the world.

The following are statements made by various members of Black August now in jail on the recent charges brought against them.

For further information or to offer donations to the defense work, call (415) 549-2284 or write Coalition to Support Black August, c/o Community Law Office, 414 Gough Street, Suite 3, San Francisco, CA 94102.

--Coalition to Support Black August

Chaka:

All across these united states right wing forces of oppression, tyranny and deceit have but passed the predictions of 1984. Treachery is spreading across this country like wildfire, engulfing all so-called progressive elements in sight. Due to general ignorance and a prevailing feeling of apathy to all that goes on, this cretin is able to carry on like a rabid beast without so much as a questioning look from any that happen to see. It seems as though a mist has, in the last decade, settled over all of the predominantly radical communities of this country, dimming the memories and perceptions of those who would cry out in protest and stilling the hands of those who would resist. The hearts and minds of the people

See Chaka p.20

Sadiki and Jasiri:

The fact that the series of closely coordinated search and destroy raids on the residences of members of the Black August Organizing Committee under the direction of the Special Service Unit (SSU--an elite paramilitary formation within the California Department of Corrections) were politically motivated is obvious. What is even more apparent is that the highly publicized plot to assassinate certain infamous characters within the California Department of Corrections (CDC), which was exposed as a hoax and a patented lie, was a cleverly contrived device to stir up public hysteria and further criminalize the Prison Movement in the eyes of the public.

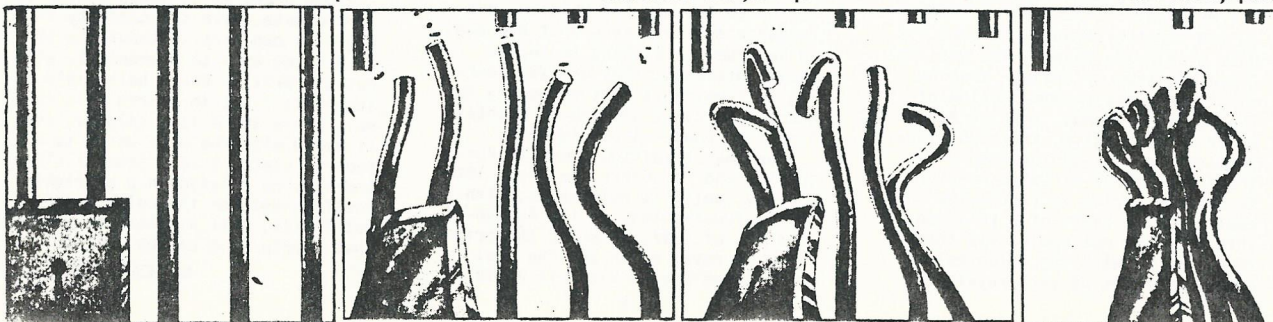
However, the one factor which may not be clear but which everyone's

See Sadiki and Jasiri p.21

Msemaji:

I would like to extend my most profound revolutionary greetings to all of you who have come out to show and give your material support for the righteous cause of myself and my comrades, who happen to be the principal victims of this particular injustice. I say 'the principal victims' because it is clear in my mind that it is not only the comrades of Black August, but the masses of the people who will ultimately suffer and bear the weight of this injustice--if it goes unchecked --as has historically been the case when soldiers, comrades rallying to freedom's call, have fallen, or been taken captive by those who seek to quench their blood-thirst through genocidal practices, and the brutalization of innocent citizens.

See Msemaji p.20



FREE JAMES YORK!

Black Freedom Fighter Arrested in South Carolina

James Dixon York was arrested in August, 1981, in Sumter, South Carolina by a raiding party of over 25 armed sheriffs and police. Charged with the shooting of two NYC policemen in April, 1981, York and Anthony LaBorde, still free, were the objects of a massive police manhunt. They have also been the targets of a vicious media campaign which has branded them as "Mad Dog executioners" and terrorists. Upon arrest, York was beaten and then extradited to NYC where he is currently being held at the Brooklyn House of Detention. On August 20, 1981 the Red Unit of the Black Liberation Army took responsibility for an armed attack on a NYC policeman in retaliation for the manhunt and capture of James York.

GUILTY UNTIL PROVEN INNOCENT

—James York

That is the nature of amerikkka's system of justice. If that is not the way it is supposed to be, that is the way it is. Especially, if you are Black and opposed to racist amerikkka's oppression, its so-called justice and democracy.

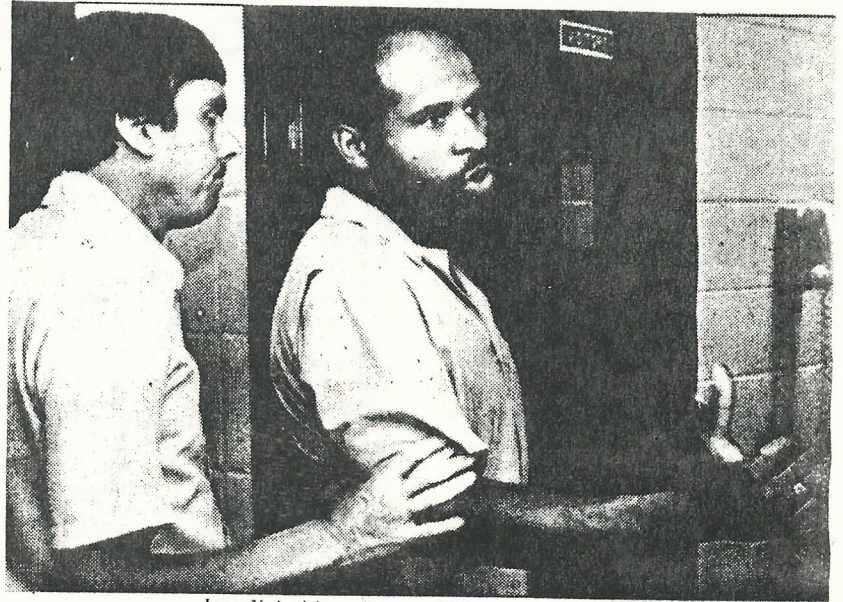
Daily Black, Puerto Rican and other poor people are going to trial, before usually all white juries. Who are fed a daily hour and half diet of Fear, referred to as News. This is to justify its railroading our youth and family members to jails and prisons. Black folks realize that crime is a real reality, because we are its main victims. But the crimes we are speaking of is not the petty crimes, that we are bombarded with each evening, called News. No! We are speaking of the crime of Genocide. We are talking about the genocidal war being waged daily against our community. The crime of 80% unemployment among our youth. The crime of 25% unemployment in our community in general. The crime of sub-standard housing in the supposedly richest country in the world. The crime of not providing us decent and affordable medical care. The crime of this government supporting racist South Africa in its genocidal war against our Sisters and Brothers in Angola, Namibia and Azania. The crime of this government supporting Fascism throughout the world; South Korea, Chile, Argentina, El Salvador, Haiti, Turkey and South Africa/Azania. This country supports fascist military juntas throughout the world, yet calls itself the Citadel of democracy and freedom. Those are just some of the crimes against mankind being supported by this government...

We ourselves listen to the same news media and we all too often assume, that to be charged by the city politicians and racist press is to be Guilty. Let us ask ourselves.

Were the KKK members guilty in Greensboro, N.C. after having been shown on nationwide T.V. firing on a group of Black and White demonstrators in the Black community killing 5 members of the Communist Workers Party and wounding many others? No! A jury found them not guilty.

Were the 5 Racist Miami policemen, who murdered Brother McDuffie, even

See Guilty Until p.19



James York, right, at the county jail in Sumter, N.C.

Greetings and Love to My People,

I would like to first of all thank from the bottom of my heart all of the righteous sisters and brothers who protected and hid us from the Racist Attack of the new york city police department, its sick degenerate mayor and his fellow city administrators, along with its supportive apparatus, the vicious reactionary white News Media.

I would also like to apologize for being taken captive and I beg your forgiveness.

I am a Black Freedom Loving Man and if that makes me part of the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY, Then So Be It. I don't know of nor have I heard of any finer group of Black Folks. To be associated with the likes of Woodie Green, Albert Nuh Washington, Zayd Malik Shakur, Anthony "Kimu"

White, Sundiata Acoli, John "Andaliwa" Clark, Assata Shakur, Herman Bell, Michael 'Ashanti' Alston, Twyman Meyers and the countless other Freedom loving Sisters and Brothers is an honor, that I sincerely hope that I can live up to.

I genuinely hope that we will continue to Protect and Support those beautiful Comrades of ours in our midst, being hounded by the reactionary white power structure and its boot licking black lackies. I also hope that folks will continue to build the necessary apparatus to insure our real and a genuine Freedom.

Long live SWAPO.

Long live ANC.

Long live RNA.

Long live BLA.

James York

STATEMENT FROM JAMES YORK

I am a forty year old Black man born at the start of the Second World War (1940) and the supposed end of the Great Depression (though today the Black community suffers under an unemployment rate equal to the rate of unemployment during those years). I grew up at the northern New Jersey area (Union County) which is made up of Elizabeth/Linden/Plainfield and Rahway. The area is primarily an industrial working class area with DuPont/Exxon/General Motors/American Cyanimid just to name a few of the multinational corporations located there. It is located about 25 miles south of New York City with the New Jersey Turnpike running through it.

I came from a family of six children and was raised during a period and time when Black and Third World people the world over were beginning to throw off the yoke of colonialism and intensify their/our struggle for self-determination and independence. This heightened consciousness of my relationship and responsibility to the struggles for freedom of Black people the world over, intensified by the student sit-ins, the Freedom

Rides, demonstrations and other forms of motion by people in this country for dignity and equality that were taking place in the late fifties and early sixties, had a profound effect on me. I was a college student at this time, having entered Delaware State College in 1958. In college I watched this chain of events with keen interest.

During this period I also heard our beloved Malcolm X speak so righteously of our plight here in the United States and of the tasks ahead. So as a twenty year old Black man, I began to seek out the wisdom, knowledge and understanding of my people and of our Nation. It was also during this period that I began to look for ways to help my people in this struggle for freedom. This didn't happen in any concrete meaningful way until I moved west to the Oakland, California area in early 1968. Along with hundreds of other young Black men, I had joined the Black Panther Party by the end of 1968. We saw the Party as a vehicle for beginning to bring about a transformation of the Black community.

See Statement p.19

THE LAND IS OURS! FREE AZANIA!

Speech by Nyati Pokela, Chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

Nyati Pokela is the newly elected Chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania which is waging people's war to overthrow the settler-colonial regime in South Africa. Chairman Pokela spoke in San Francisco on October 16 as part of a U.S. tour to build support for the Azanian people's national liberation struggle to regain their land, stolen by the white settlers over the last 300 years.

Chairman Pokela, a lifelong fighter for the liberation of his people, worked in clandestinity in the 1960s to build the armed struggle. Last year he was released after 13 years in South Africa's notorious political prison on Robben Island.

The PAC Chairman was accompanied by Hamilton Keke, convicted as part of the Bethal 18 case of working to "overthrow the South African government through violent revolution." Severely tortured in an attempt to make them break, the Bethal 18 instead refused to enter pleas or in any way to recognize the right of the court to try them.

The following is Comrade Pokela's San Francisco speech.

Thank you comrades,

I am very happy to be amongst you this evening. Now, since the time has already gone, I will probably try to give you only key points, that shall guide you to understand the struggle that we are facing, that will make you understand some of the things for which the PAC stands, and make you understand the struggle that we are engaged in.

To begin with, South Africa, which we call Azania, was conquered by imperialists. In other words, our people were defeated on the battlefield. But our land was also stolen from our people. That is a fact. Having been stolen and taken from our people by the use of force, it was kept and maintained by force to this very day.

Now, after all the different tribes in our country--the Xhosa speaking people, the Basotho speaking people, the Bapedi speaking people, the Batswana speaking people--after all of them had been forced to the verge of surrender, it was at that point that they realized that the enemy that was fighting them was one. But it was late; they had been fighting the enemy separately and at that point they were beginning to work together. But the enemy had already had the uppermost advantage over them. And so they were defeated. When they were defeated, they had to think of other ways of struggle. And they were defeated, as we say, because the colonizing powers had superior weapons. The last battle that was fought in our country was in 1909. And at that point in time, it was clear that on the battlefield our people could not conquer the enemy. And Bambata, who was the last warrior to take arms against the colonizer, said at that time, "the African people lost their land on the battlefield, and they can only recover it on the battlefield."

Now this is very clear. And there is no doubt that he understood what he meant. Since our people were in

the majority, they had that power of their people behind them. But they had no weapons. But I want you to understand clearly what Bambata said. The African people lost their land on the battlefield, and they can only recover that land on the battlefield. Not only at the conference table. And to this very day, going to a conference table means peaceful solutions. And peaceful solutions have never served anybody any good.

You need only go to Zimbabwe to know what happens. When Smith declared U.D.I. (Unilateral Declaration of Independence from the British Empire; ed.), the British stood back and they said they would not fight their "kith and kin," and plunged our people into an unnecessary war. And the war dragged on. Conferences were called, and they ended in no solution. It was not until ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union)

handed to Dutch feudalism and British commercial interests, to those people who had come from Europe. And it excluded the indigenous Africans. In 1910, the Afrikaners and the English living in South Africa passed a law, the Union Act of 1910, which reserved political and economic rights exclusively for whites, and excluded the majority Blacks. And therefore, the British and the whites passed all the wealth into the hands of a minority. It is because the British used their traditions, they handed on their tradition to the white minority settler regime--a heritage that was entrenched by British "positive law"--the Act of 1909 and the Act of 1910 could not be challenged in any court of law. So that the rights passed on to the white minority were a heritage only for that section, up to this very day.

Now, you can see then, from that



had forced the enemy on the verge of a precipice that Britain said, "come now, come now, let us talk," in an attempt to save their kith and kin. Now in other words, peaceful solutions, when a person has stolen your property, are useless.

You find the same thing in Namibia. Ten years ago it was declared that South Africa had no legal right to Namibia. And if a man has no legal right to a property, and he continues occupying it, then he must be forced out of it. The so-called Contact Groups have been dragging their feet. They say, let us go on talking, "dialogue," they get words such as "dialogue." In the process of dialogue, our people are dying--no solution! So that we must, even up to this very moment, take the good words of our old warrior, that African people in Azania lost their land on the battlefield, and they can only recover it on that battlefield.

In 1909, the British handed over our land to a minority settler regime through what was called the "South Africa Act" that was passed in the British parliament. It was

point, a clash of laws; the laws of the colonizer and the laws of the indigenous people. And what did the law of the indigenous people say? Land is inalienable. It can neither be bought nor sold. It is again, interesting then, that it is for that reason, amongst others, that we say: South Africa is still a colony. And it ought to be returned to its rightful owners!

And then, in 1912, the African people began to form a political organization, to fight for the return of that land. It was not until 1943 that the Africans felt that they had been going in circles. They wanted an ideology that would bind all those tribes together. And in that year came into prominence an African nationalist by the name of Anton Mzwake Lembede. He propounded the ideology of African nationalism as a liberating force, as binding all tribes together, so that the Africans can move forward and chart their own destiny.

In 1959 the Pan-Africanist Congress was born. And it is that organization that became the custodian of

the interests of the African people. It was to aim at a government of the African, by the Africans. It was to aim at their possession of the land by the Africans. It was to fight ultimately for one man, one vote. And amongst others, it then adopted a program of action, a program that is called an unfolding Program of Positive Action. This program unfolded at the beginning of 1960. On the first of January we launched a campaign that is called the Status Campaign. That campaign is multi-frontal. Amongst other aspects of that campaign was a campaign to free the African people mentally. And we were satisfied, once they were free mentally, nothing would stand in their way. They were to reject a position of inferiority, they were to accept their African nationality everywhere. And immediately, after that campaign, we launched yet another campaign, in March of the same year, on the 21st of March, a final decisive positive action against the pass laws.

Why did we choose the pass laws? At that time in part it was because the pass laws had enslaved our people. They carried this pass to identify themselves. They carried this pass, and it was that pass that led them into the prisons of the colonizer. Into the prisons of settlers in that country. They filled prisons, they became jailbirds, because of that pass. And it was that pass that made them to go and work for big business in the mines, on the farms. And it was important to hit the enemy where the enemy would feel the pinch. We said then, as I have already said, *we must free our people mentally*. We must make our people not to fear imprisonment. And therefore, we said our people should surrender their passes. And on a particular day, the 21st of March, they should march to all police stations to cause themselves to be arrested; as a demonstration. And at the same time, you can see that we are stopping labor. All African people that carry passes were asked to leave their passes behind and go and surrender themselves. In other words, on that particular day, no people should go and work. And once work stopped, it became clear who was actually working to produce wealth, who was actually the backbone of the economy of that country. And that the capitalists in that country would not like to see continue for a long time.

Before that campaign was launched, the President of the PAC had asked the police not to give unreasonable orders in order to shoot our people down. But it is just that which made the police to give unreasonable orders. In other words, when thousands and thousands of people are assembled, the police said, "Within five minutes they must disappear, and if they are still there, they would be shot." And indeed, because people could not disperse within five minutes they were shot. And 67 were killed. Almost spontaneously throughout the country, our people decided that they would never again launch a peaceful campaign unless they were able to defend themselves. (Applause)

And it was from that campaign that we of the PAC became the first liberatory movement in that country to decide on an armed struggle. It was we, who in September of 1961, decided to form a military wing of the PAC. That was called POQO. You understand, at that time, we had no weapons, such as even a pistol or a machine gun. Our people had been disarmed when they were conquered by

Excerpts From a Talk by Hamilton Keke on the Case of the Bethal 18

October 18, 1981--San Francisco

The Pan Africanist Congress, despite all the repression which it had to face in its underground work, it had maintained its national character. It was not an organization that was just Johannesburg based, it was not an organization which could be alleged to be an organization of one ethnic group, but it was an organization which enjoyed the support of the Azanian people as a whole.

On the very first day, when we entered the court, and we were asked to plead, we made it clear that we were not going to plead, because we do not recognize a court which is existing because it has been promulgated by a law made in the white parliament, which was racist more than anything else. We made it clear that we were not going to plead.

Even as we marched to the dock, we were always singing freedom songs, raising the right hand, which is the salute of the Pan Africanist Congress. Among the songs, there was this song which went like this:

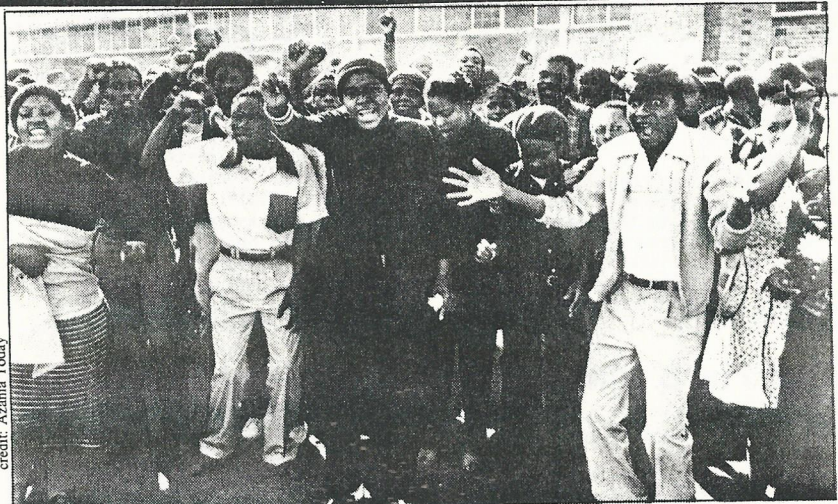
We're the sons of our motherland
Yearning for our Africa
Now engaged in the glorious struggle
To dislodge the foreign oppressor.

Forward ever, backwards never
Tomorrow the giant monolithic state
From Morocco to Malagasi
From Cape to Cairo.
Izwe Lethu! I Africa!

I am just trying to give you a picture of what was happening in Bethal. As we would march to the block, in a single file with Uncle Zeph leading us, when we arrived there, we would turn our backs, you know, we would give the bench our backs, and face the public gallery. Because we were showing that we held in contempt whatever was happening in the court.

This continued and the judge made it clear that the evidence was going to be learned *in camera* (in secret proceedings). So, immediately it was the time for the state to lead evidence from the state witnesses. All the court proceedings continued *in camera* until the day when the judge was to impose judgement. Imagine 18 months being spent for the court proceedings, and the whole outside world dependent on one or two paragraphs in the white press about what was happening in Bethal. The news was suppressed. The case was inadequately reported. Even the very place which was selected as the venue of the case was a remote area which was away from the mainstream of business.

...Now, I am just trying to show you, my dear comrades and friends, that all that was happening there was aimed at destroying the Pan Africanist Congress. The leader of the PAC, Comrade Zephania Mothopeng, was even denied the right to make an address and try to explain what has been going on.



credit: Azania Today

Unarmed Blacks demonstrating in Soweto (June 16, 1980) in commemoration of Soweto uprising of 1976 during which approximately 1,000 Blacks were killed by police and para-military troops of the Pretoria Racist Regime.

the enemy. But, you can understand, we had made a decision. And then we went home, and we met in small groups. We decided that we are going to use long blades, what we called "pangas," sharpened on both sides. And we formed that military wing. We knew the enemy had all sorts of weapons.

Now, I must again make a point here, because today there are some people who want sensationalism. In spite of the reality that is there. You know, if we look in our prisons, if we read newspapers, you will hear that Africans have been arrested. Africans are human beings like anybody else, because basically all human beings are the same. They are being imprisoned. Africans are being molested in the streets. They are human beings like anybody else. Africans are being sentenced to death, regularly in that country. And they are human beings like anybody else. Africans are being sentenced to life

imprisonment today. When I left prison--Robben Island--there were about 15 people that were serving a life term of imprisonment.

Now, you find some people who say they are fighting the settler regime blowing up inanimate objects. And they say they are fighting the regime. Now, when we started with our POQO, we did not go for inanimate things. Our fight, our war was at the level of mortals. When people fight, it is a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye. And indeed, once POQO started fighting, it went for the flesh of the enemy.

And what happened in March 1960? Capital flowed out. Investors pulled out their monies, and they panicked! And since then we have decided on an armed struggle. And since then, we realized that the enemy was afraid and we have been attacking on all fronts.

See PAC Back Page

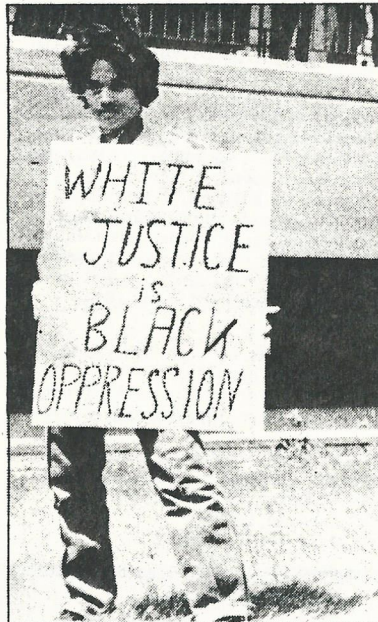
Profile of the Black Prisoner's Rights Committee

—Fort Madison, Iowa

The history of Black people in America has been a history of a people struggling for their rights. First, as African slaves, they fought against a brutal and oppressive system of chattel slavery. Through many years of intense struggle and monumental sacrifice they threw off the chains of chattel slavery, yet they remained slaves in a land where they were alien. They were enslaved culturally, socially, economically, and politically. Although "free" they had "no right that a white man was bound to respect"—they were a new nation of slaves.

As the relationship between Black people and their former slave masters changed from a form of colonialism characterized by chattel slavery, some Black people realized that the colonial domination was to continue in only a slightly different form. As a result of this realization Black people began to view themselves as an Oppressed Nation. They broke away from their colonizing masters and formed what, during the 1800's, were called "Maroon Societies" in an attempt to determine their own destiny. This was the beginning of Black peoples' realization that, although "free," they would never be respected as equals by the dominating white colonial government. This realization is very much evidenced in the psyche of the young Black growing up in America today. From the time he is old enough to attend pre-school, the process begins. He learns that certain boundaries are not to be crossed; that the police in his community is a force to be hated or feared (depending on the circumstances); that the word "nigger" is often used to describe him or people of his color and that there is a special enmity attached to the usage of that word. But most importantly, he learns that his life has no meaning or value when weighed against the property rights of the dominating Oppressor Nation.

With a comprehensive knowledge of our history, we understand that the situation the Black prisoner finds himself in has more complex implications than just conditions in prison. We formed the Black Prisoners' Rights Committee (B.P.R.C.) as a direct result of our realizing the sub-citizen status of Black people in America and their colonial relationship to the dominating Oppressor



Nation. We understand those struggles taking place inside prisons evolving around the human rights of Black prisoners as being just another link in a historical chain of the struggle against the oppression of Black people.

Prison is a necessary component part of the oppressive structure that denies Black people their human rights and their right to self determination. Therefore, when we formed the Black Prisoners' Rights

Committee, we were forming a link in that historical chain of resistance that is so much a part of the history of Black people in America. As prisoners, we realize that the principal contradiction facing us at this point is those conditions and treatments in prison that strengthen the institution of colonialism. Moving from this premise, we resolved to make our contribution to the overall struggle for the freedom of Black people in America by forming a politically conscious apparatus that speaks to the needs of Black prisoners here in one of America's human warehouses, euphemistically called the "Iowa Department of Adult Corrections" in Fort Madison.

The B.P.R.C., being a product of our general commitment to the overall struggle for the National Independence of Black people, was conceived in the particular need that we saw here at Fort Madison to give the Black prisoners a form of uncompromising support in their struggle against the blatantly racist and colonial judicial and penal systems.

By taking the initiative in contesting the injustices that we are faced with each and every day of our captivity, we were hoping to show the particular nexus between the socio-economic and political injustices experienced by our people in the community and the injustices experienced by the Black prisoners. And, by showing that nexus, we were hoping that more Black people in the community would become involved in what goes on in prisons. Only when our people in the community begin to realize the connection between their oppression and the oppression of Black men and women in prison can we begin to address the problem in its entirety. At the core of the problem, if we speak realistically and without reserve, is a racist colonial system of oppression and naked human subjugation. This is a struggle that can only be won by forming progressive alliances, united fronts, and principled coalitions.

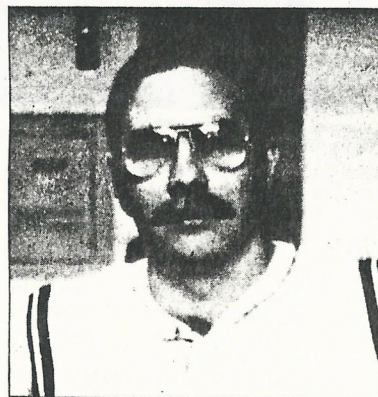
See Profile p.26

Carl Harp Murdered by Guards at Walla Walla

Prison activist Carl Harp was murdered at Walla Walla prison in Washington on September 5. The prison administration said it was suicide (he was found hanged with his wrists slashed), but Carl knew there was a contract out on him issued by the guards. He had distributed a letter exposing the contract several weeks before his death.

Harp was a founding member of Men Against Sexism—a group established to help protect gay prisoners and to educate others. He participated in the numerous strikes and rebellions waged by Walla Walla prisoners against their captors and co-founded the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective. Two years ago, Harp and two others, Mark LaRue and Robert Green, seized the Classification Building and took ten staff hostages to force publicity and action on the atrocious conditions at Walla Walla. When he refused to plead guilty and demanded a public political trial, he was viciously beaten and raped with a riot baton by guards. After the beating he was transferred to San Quentin where he was told he would be killed.

Last year a federal judge declared imprisonment in Walla Walla "cruel



and unusual" punishment based on a class action suit brought against the prison by Harp and others. Not wanting the prison further exposed, the State dropped the hostage charges against Harp. Then he was awarded \$7,000 for being illegally kept in segregation for 14 months. And recently he won his transfer back to Walla Walla. It is this history of struggle within Walla Walla and the legal victories that he was achieving that make it clear the guards were out to get him.

According to Scott Weinstein of the Solidarity Committee in Montreal, prisoners at Walla Walla have also learned that Robert Green and two Black activist prisoners are on the guards' hit list. He said Green has been denied a transfer out of Walla Walla because that would mean admitting there are real death threats in Walla Walla and that would contradict their story that Harp committed suicide. He also said it has become clear that guards and white prisoners are involved with the Nazis and Aryan Brotherhood.

People are being asked to write to Governor John Spellman and Director of Corrections Amos Reed demanding a complete investigation into Carl's death and the removal of all of the guards originally fired in 1979 for brutalizing Harp and those guards associated with the Nazis.

Amos Reed, Director of Corrections
Division of Corrections
Capitol Center Building FN-61
Olympia, Washington 98804

Governor John Spellman
Legislative Building
Olympia, Washington 98504



Black Prisoners Fight Repression

I am Makau Salih, s/n Lincoln Heard, Sunni Muslim, Atmore-Holman Brother, I.F.A. member, who has been forcibly and illegally incarcerated in Lewisburg Federal Prison since August of 1980.

On September 9, 1981, as I was entering the prison building coming from my work assignment at the Industry, officer Kelvin J. Spengler took his hands and deliberately pushed me. I raised my hands preparing for the shakedown, and as I did so, officer Spengler then shoved me in my side with his hand again. So right then I seen that this beast was trying to provoke me for some nefarious reason and in order to keep my cool I went on past him and refused to let him shake me down. Because of this refusal I was racially and slanderously lied on by officer Spengler by him subjecting me to a false disciplinary report of "assaulting any person."

On September 4, 1981 I was found guilty as charged and sentenced to 60 days in Seg., recommended to be transferred to Marion (which I don't desire to go there), to have all of my good days taken away from me.

I respectfully request to all comrades in our common struggle to protest this injustice with me. Ask officials that I will list to void my disciplinary process and restore me to my original status, or send me back to Alabama State Prison, or appoint an impartial disciplinary committee, including at least two Black members, to rehear my disciplinary proceedings. It is my sincere belief that the present charge was an effort by my unit team to get my February, 1983 parole date taken and to get me sent to Marion U.S.P. to be assassinated, in order to stop my efforts of exposing to the public the torture, brutality, deadly drug injections and racial persecution that is being perpetuated against Muslims and Black prisoners here, by this 97% white Lewisburg administration staff.

With Norman A. Carlson (Prison Director) and the warden's approbation, Sunni Muslim prisoners (in particular, Black ones) at Lewisburg U.S.P. are being subjected to slander, brutal beatings, torture, and forced transfer, under the pretext of restraint. Black prisoners have been brutally and forcibly transferred (kidnapped) from Lewisburg U.S.P. and sent somewhere to a prison hospital, where they have been forcibly injected with drugs which leave them mentally and physically paralyzed, in retaliation against them for speaking out against the unhumanities of Lewisburg Prison.

Norman A. Carlson, the warden, in concert with their all white units and classification teams here, deliberately deprive Sunni Muslims and Black prisoners in general of assistance, benefits and aid, in comparison to that extended to prison informers and non-Black prisoners. They have willfully implemented a classification system at Lewisburg which allows for a dual system of imprisonment, a system which is devoid of any Black officials and is designed to facilitate maximum rehabilitation of prison informers and non-Black prisoners and maximum

On the Recent Criticism of RNA, etc. Dealings with BLA P.O.W.s

I shall try to make this as brief and to the point as possible. It concerns us here the manner in which the leadership of RNA, etc., deal with the recent criticisms directed towards them by Dhoruba and other BLA Rades. It also concerns us the manner in which those supporters on either side deal with the issues. This matter does not have to follow the same routine as past efforts to resolve contradictions between friendly liberation groups have followed. Specifically, I mean the tendency to become rigid and alienated from each other by the mere fact that one group or its representatives have felt the need to criticize the behavior of the other group. This does not have to boil down to a clash of group egos. It can be dealt with constructively.

There are many sensitive things involved here which we can allow to turn this whole effort into another episode of sectarian warfare. For example, the fact that the RNA, in the last couple of years, has given their audiences a really pro-BLA position. That, I'm sure, made all of our hearts in the BLA feel mighty good, because after all these years of fighting and dying and surviving in these open-graveyards, some groups have finally decided to proclaim "Yes, We Support the BLA!" This has been good and very much appreciated. It helps us and we feel that it helps build the kind of support for the Liberation Movement that we all need to advance closer towards our common goals. I'm sure though that when the RNA became aware of our Rades' criticism of the proposed July function, that they felt it an unwarranted criticism. Usually we react to criticisms instead of respond to them by just simply sitting down with them to honestly see if the criticisms have any validity.

No quotes from highly esteemed revolutionary sources. We don't need them for this. It's not that complicated a matter. Because, for a start, all it calls for the RNA, etc., to do is sit down with it and try to understand where it's coming from. Take a position later. Malcolm X had developed a unique ability to criticize himself and when he found that he had been wrong in his

method of thinking and doing, he was the type to hold it up for all "his People" to see. Martin Luther King as well spoke of his constant recourse to "soul-searching;" "One cannot be in my position, looked upon by some for guidance without being constantly reminded of the awesomeness of responsibility. I subject myself to self-purification and to endless self-analysis. I question and soul-search constantly into myself to be as certain as I can that I am fulfilling the true meaning of my work, that I am maintaining my sense of purpose, that I am holding fast to my ideals, that I am guiding my People in the right direction." There is so much said in that. Yet it is a really hellified emotional struggle to attain such a political and personal attitude to govern our actions. Hmm. I said I wasn't gonna do no quoting. My apologies. Yet I hope you see my point.

What the BLA POWs are saying is that there has been the element of opportunism in the thinking and doing of the RNA, etc., and that it must be actively struggled against if we are to guard and advance the welfare of the Liberation Movement. That is it! No attack. Just the methods we have decided is best to actively voice our concern about another's behavior. It does not have to be dealt with as was the so-called "Eldridge vs. Huey - Panther Affair," nor as the recent affair out west with, or between, rather, NAPO/APSP/ATS, in all where rigid positions are taken before any true, sincere understanding was gained. So the hurling of foul marxist names goes back and forth and we all know that that's not all necessary. Just sit down with the criticisms and try to honestly judge whether what the Rades have said has any validity to what you (RNA, etc.) have been doing.

Remember that our objective is unity and struggle that abides by the supreme law of the welfare of the revolution. It was our consensus here at Somers prison camp that the criticisms need not split us apart, that we need not be imprisoned to the same old reactions that have continually wrecked other unities. See Criticism p.26

persecution and incarceration of Muslim and Black prisoners!!!

Your letters of protest should go at once to:

1. Lewisburg Warden, PO Box 1000 Lewisburg, PA 17837
2. Norman A. Carlson, Director, Bureau of Prisons, 320 First St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20537
3. U.S. Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530
4. Governor Richard Thornburg, 225 Main Capital Building, Harrisburg, PA 17120
5. Commissioner of Corrections Ronald J. Marks, Box 598, Camp Hill, PA 17011
6. The Honorable Michael P. Scharfer State Senator, Capital Building, Harrisburg, PA 17120



Update fr. p.3

to repress the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the white anti-imperialist movement by imprisoning its public leaders and activists, and to neutralize and undermine support for the Black Liberation Army and the Revolutionary Armed Task Force.

STOP THE GRAND JURY!
SUPPORT NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS!
SUPPORT ALL REVOLUTIONARY FREEDOM FIGHTERS!



Statement by Leonard Peltier

June 26, 1981

Greetings brothers and sisters:

It has been some time now since I have sent out any messages and communications to you out there in the midst of oppression and struggle. The reasons for this are not that I do not have anything to say or that I want to cease my communication with you, it's just that at times I feel enough words have been said.

Before I begin making any statement I would like to assure you I have not given up in my people's struggle for the liberation of our nation and our sacred Black Hills! My love for my people and all people of struggle are as strong as when I made the decision to devote my life to the struggle. There is no power on Earth that can or will force me to abandon this love.

Indian warriors and Indian delegates from various Indian Nations and Governments have made enough statements and negotiations with the U.S. Government. For decades upon decades our words have gone unheard and ignored. I believe there should be *less talk and more actions.*

Today, June 26, 1981, marks the 6th year since our spiritual camp in Oglala, South Dakota in the Lakota Nation was attacked by agents of the FBI. Six years since my brother and the people's warrior, Joe Stuntz, was murdered. Many things have happened since then.

A friend and sister warrior, Anna Mae Aquash, was found murdered and attempts were made by the U.S. government to cover her murder up. Mike Anderson, one of the government's main witnesses against me at that farce called a trial in Fargo, North Dakota was killed. I would like to emphasize very clearly so that there is no misunderstanding by anyone, concerning Mike's death. Mike was killed by the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) police on the Dene Nation. His brother, Larry Anderson informed me of this directly.

A plot to neutralize (kill) me was exposed to me, which caused me to make a decision to flee the concentration camp in Lompoc, Ca. Many people are hesitant to believe this and ask the question why would the government take the chance of being unsuccessful and exposed? To be honest with you, I was also curious when this was revealed to me. But since then with the discoveries we have made through my Freedom of Information Act lawsuit my understanding of their continued actions against me have become most clear.

Every word of accusation we have ever made about my illegal conviction

and the terror against my people are no longer just words for we now have enough evidence to prove everything we have ever said is true. Shortly we will be releasing a lot if not all of this new evidence to you so you can use it when you are writing in support of me and in protest to various government officials concerning my imprisonment and demanding my release. But for now, I've been asked by my lawyer to refrain from mentioning and exposing any of this material until after our legal strategies are in motion. To sum this subject up for now I can only think of one thing to say, which is what was told us during the Fargo trial: "If I was to allow this story to be told or heard, it would shock the conscience of the people." Well I intend to shock the conscience of the people and this story will be told!!!

So you can see your strong support and belief in me is beginning to pay off. I must caution and warn you not to celebrate or relax just yet, because your support and continued hard work is really just beginning. We have one last chance through the courts--a 2255 Writ of Habeas Corpus and when we file it your support and or organizational efforts will be needed more than ever.

When I was first arrested I wrote a statement asking the people to not let my life be wasted and to continue the struggle. Over the years I have witnessed the people's actions and I am assured my life has not been wasted. I see that the people are

Native Resistance in Arizona, South Dakota

Two current frontlines in Native American people's fight for their land and the sovereignty of their nations are the struggles taking place at Yellow Thunder Camp in the Black Hills of South Dakota and at Big Mountain, Arizona.

At Big Mountain, Arizona, the Navajo and Hopi people are fighting against a vicious government assault on their people. The US is trying to forcibly relocate more than 10,000 people from their ancestral lands, destroy their basis of survival by reducing their livestock herds in half, and fence a new boundary between the two Native nations. They claim to be settling a "land dispute" between the Hopi and Dine' (Navajo) nations--people lived together on this land for centuries.

This new boundary is really being set up by the US government so that huge energy corporations can gain easier control over the extensive

rising from Big Mountain, Dine' Nation to the people's warriors in Guatemala, from the people's camps in the Black Hills to the camps in the Six Nation territory and in El Salvador. We should all be proud and look to these actions of Red People as a coming together of Indian Nations that are building independently; and when united, we will be as a Red Fist of Indian Resistance that will stretch from North to South and East to West covering this hemisphere.

As a Red person I know the Circle of Life is made of four colors, Red, Yellow, Black, and White, and that now is the time for us to begin building solidarity with warriors of different colors, to complete this circle. These people's warriors must be committed to live with a respect for Mother Earth, and consciously and actively support *Sovereignty and Self-determination* of Indian Nations throughout this hemisphere.

I as well as other Prisoners of War, and many Indian camps have received material aid and support from Liberation struggles in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We must identify ourselves with these Freedom Fighters and support their armed struggle, in solidarity with their Wars of Liberation, for we too as Indian Warriors are a part of the circle of liberation.

I remain strong in the struggle and continue to serve my people, our children, for the future generations.

Your brother in the spirit of Crazy Horse,

Gwarth-ee-Lass

Leonard Peltier #89637-132

coal and uranium resources on the Native people's land.

A spiritual encampment at Big Mountain has confronted the fencing crews with acts of militant resistance. In September, 1980, four Navajo women were arrested and charged with assault and destruction of federal property. The charges against Navajo elder Alice Benally were dropped a year later. However, the other three still face these charges and all four have been additionally charged with contempt of court. The Big Mountain Dine' Nation has issued a public notice declaring total resistance to any effort to remove them from their land. For more information, write to: Big Mountain Support Group, 1428 Cypress St., Berkeley, CA 94703

Last April, the Dakota American Indian Movement moved to reclaim 800 acres of traditional Lakota land according to the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty by establishing Yellow Thunder Camp in the Black Hills near Rapid City, South Dakota. Though the case is still in the courts, the U.S. Government has ordered them to leave and is reported to be training an assault team, as at Wounded Knee, to forcibly remove them. The Lakota people, unwilling to see their sacred spiritual lands despoiled by coal, gold, and uranium mining, have vowed to stay and defend their homeland.

On December 7, a massive airlift of food, medicine, warm clothing, tents and building tools will begin to be sent to the Indian people now wintered in the Black Hills and at Big Mountain. For more information, or to make material or financial contributions, contact:

AIRLIFT

American Indian Center, 229 Valencia St., San Francisco, California 94103



SUPPORT THE
INDIAN RESISTANCE

FREE EMMA CUNNINGHAM!

The letter below was sent to ARM THE SPIRIT by Emma Cunningham, a Black woman who has been held on death row for two years in Hardwick for allegedly peeking in a window.

The state alleges that Emma's husband, James Cunningham, robbed a 63-year-old white man, and, in the course of the robbery, killed him. When Emma Cunningham went to see about her husband after he was arrested, she was arrested and charged with murder. The state had no evidence against her, so the prosecutor threatened to take Cunningham's children away from the home of her parents if she didn't sign a statement saying she had peeked into a window before the robbery and received some of the robbery money. Officials paid a female informer in the jail \$200 to lie and say that Emma had confessed to her.

The truth is--as both Emma and her husband have stated--that she had no prior knowledge of the robbery and took no part in it. The state never even contended that she was directly involved. But the racist courts convicted her anyway of "vicarious liability" for the murder and sentenced her to death.

On September 14th, Cunningham's case was given its mandatory hearing

by the Georgia Supreme Court. In spite of the fact that the "conspiracy" charges against Cunningham are completely fabricated, her court-appointed lawyer made the main argument in the appeal the unconstitutionality of imposing the death penalty for conspiracy to commit murder. If the appeal is "successful", Cunningham's sentence could be changed from death to life in prison. Her lawyer has stated that he is "not optimistic" that her whole conviction can be overturned.

Cunningham will never be freed by the racist legal system that convicted her in the first place unless she receives strong support from the community. Since her conviction in 1979, her case has received almost no attention from the media or progressive and left organizations. Because she has received no financial support except from her family, she has been forced to rely on a court-appointed lawyer who is not at all committed to fighting for her freedom.

We strongly urge individuals and organizations subscribing to ATS to send letters demanding her release to: Governor George Busbee, Governor's Office, Atlanta, GA 30314. Donations (money orders only) can

be sent to: Emma Cunningham, c/o Rev. Pauline Starks, 118 Brown Street, Anderson, SC 29621. (Please make all money orders payable to Pauline Starks.)
Dear A.T.S.:

I recently read the article concerning me; the article was nice, and to the point, and all was in the article is true except one small part. There is no defense fund.

I have no support backing me. Nor do I have any kind of funds to hire a lawyer. I'm no farther now with my case than I was the day I walked out the courtroom.

And so I thought I would write and tell you I have no kind of organizations who are supporting me in no way. I've contacted many, but none have come to my aid. I received once a statement that was sent to the court by my husband, and he himself have wrote many people, but it seems as though for the innocent people there is no help, is there? Even the so-called lawyer-State paid- said to me, "You'll never be released." And knowing the town where I came from, without help I will never be released. It's been almost three years now and my case is still in under the trial judge!

And this is why I'm writing. People may think that I have support and I don't. The organization called PUSH, the NAACP, and the ACLU; where are those Rev. Jackson's and the many others that M.L.King started for us for Peace and Freedom?

And even now no one has really explained to me why I'm in prison. Sure I know they say for killing a person that I never put my hands on and I think it's wrong to lock up a person for something they didn't do nor know anything about until I was put in jail.

I just letting you know where I stand. I stand alone. Still after three years. "Oh, we will send someone to your aid." and that someone never shows up.

They could put me to death tomorrow. Who would know? Just another Poor Black Woman, huh? Who gives a damn anyway, right? I do. Because I have two small children--age five and seven--who needs me more than these people do, I think.

Thanks for listening,
Emma Ruth Cunningham
E.F. 122984
M.G.C.I. Women's Unit
P.O. Box 218-J-2
Hardwick, GA 31034

REPRESSION AT SAN QUENTIN

Revolutionary greetings!

This communique is put forth in regards to the Gestapo type tactics being employed by the San Quentin Prison Administrators upon a segment of its population, particularly New Afrikans.

At this point roughly six Afrikan captives are being framed by the administrators on a charge of battery on police officers. However, the issue is to the contrary; these New Afrikans only expressed their defense from reactionary racism inherent in the Department of Corrections and in particular San Quentin.

Briefly I will expound on the contradiction that initiated the present issue. On February 24, 1981 an incident occurred in San Quentin (North Block) in which roughly 12 inmates were shot by indiscreet gunfire; five were shot down point blank by experienced marksmen. The administration alleged that the

cause was a fist fight. However, the armed gun rail officers "thought" they saw inmates fighting; the "thought" proved to be only over reaction on the officers' part. The administration then divided the Afrikan (North Block) population because they felt the incident was gang related--a point that is obtuse. As a result roughly 80 men were removed from the general population on the basis that they were singled out as "associates of a gang (CRIPS)," and the staff felt these men would retaliate for the unjust and horrendous attack on the New Afrikan men who were shot down. These men were sent to "Carson Section" as a result of staff alleging they are "Associates of the (CRIPS)."

On July 22, 1981 about 9 San Quentin guards were attempting to harass an inmate on the "Carson Section" exercise yard. An officer, L. Lemos

See Repression p. 21

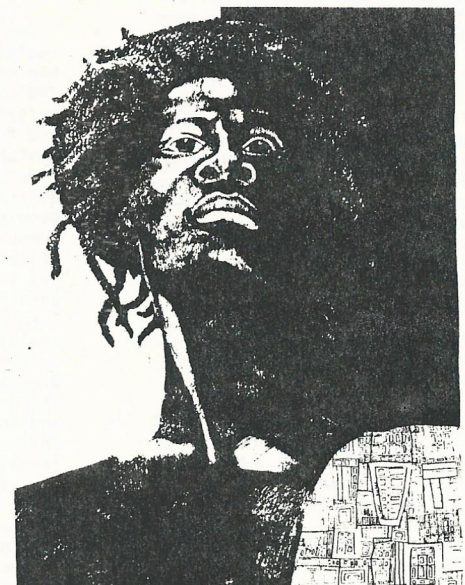
RASTA IS ALIVE!

RASTA is the origin of perfect and unique African Community,
RASTA is UNITY!
RASTA remembrance and respect for the Most High Above,
RASTA is PEACE, RASTA is LOVE!
RASTA IS THE DAVID THAT WILL SLAY THE GOLIATH OPPRESSOR,
RASTA IS THE POWER MANIFESTOR!
RASTA is Righteousness, Joy, Pleasure, and Delight clear and plain,
RASTA can also be Pain!
RASTA is more than just some passing religious/cultural fad or faction,
RASTA is all about Action!
RASTA is no new scheme or plan of some secret society of klan,
RASTA has been around since the beginning of man!
RASTA is nothing that one can fool with, fake or play,
RASTA is here to stay!
RASTA is reflection, pondering, study and contemplation,
RASTA is Meditation!
RASTA is against exploitation of African peoples' rights and land,
RASTA IS IF NECESSARY, GUN IN HAND!*

RASTA is death to oppression, poverty, prejudice, and racial genocide,
RASTA IS ALIVE!

—Ras Omowale L. Askari

*i.e. Armed Struggle



"THE RASTAFARIAN" by ROBERT L. RUCKER

BLA COMMUNIQUE fr. p.1

tion was embarked upon which had people who were already living underground for years, non-active in the military, re-activated and assigned to infiltrate and assess the major fascist organizations. This investigation led them to the Klan in Connecticut and North Carolina to determine FBI and local police complicity. It led them to the so-called Christian community to determine their military preparedness in their drive for survival. It led them to investigate the international fascist network in North America and its tentacles into the Caribbean, citing the assassination of Walter Rodney and the complicity in toppling the Manley government in Jamaica.

Facts stemming from this intelligence are:

1. That the Black population in North America is the number one focus of all the above organizations, i.e. illustrated in their flyers and on their targets used for shooting practice.

2. The law enforcement agencies, from the local police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, to the Central Intelligence Agency, have directly, through their alumni or various associations outside their own structures, used federal money taken from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration budget to participate in said organizations through lending their expertise and financial backing, and use of classified intelligence information on their enemies.

3. Members of the ruling class have been used to back these organizations. John Connally financed the mercenary plot against Dominica. H. Ross Perot financed the failed Iran hostage rescue. The Hunt family financed North Carolina Klan activity through the sale of the South African Kruggerrand.

4. A mass propaganda program on white America to build a hysteria against communism and crime to perpetuate vigilanteism, to cover the fascist approach to genocide by these white people, and to cover up the specific programs of the above forces; to move for more tolerance on the part of white America to accept and participate in this situation.

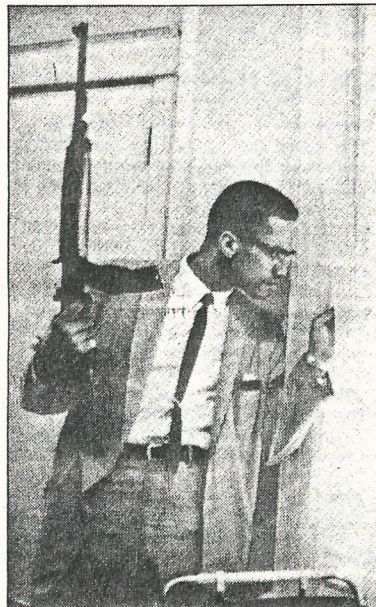
5. The government anti-terrorist force is formulated under the same ideology of the civilian so-called race terror forces. Richard M. Nixon and his staff in the FBI and Justice Department are the government's originators of said program. Reaganomics is used to force the survival of the Black and Third World population to a situation where the apartheid system will be the norm in urban communities, and to put blue and white collar workers into law enforcement related situations, thereby having control over the system as a whole.

The Revolutionary Armed Task Force assessed that the time to respond was NOW. It could no longer be a wait-and-see program. The normal process of watchdog committees that generally halted these conspiracies--such as the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, and Klan Watch--have been ineffective in exposing the true nature of the crisis.

The fact that the Black Liberation Army had interwoven into the fiber of the Black Community clandestinely allowed the Army to have a finger on the pulse of the Black Community, as

well as the Anti-Imperialist movement. The left movement has emphasized its work against the pro-nuclear forces and works within the bourgeois framework. They are unprepared to understand the fact that they have been targeted and are therefore incapable of responding. The lack of response by progressive people to the Moral Majority has allowed for a right-wing backlash against all women.

On the other hand, the Black Community responded to the propaganda and conditions by resisting at the basic level of survival. The astronomical amount of law enforcement films, the blatant average disrespect of Black people, and the conditions illustrated from talk shows and editorials, to the passive wait-and-see attitude toward the effects of Reaganomics on Black and poor people, illustrated to us that the time to respond and stop the flow of fascist racist repression is now and in this period.



One clear fact is that all the racist organizations are well-financed. Different from the 1960's and early 70's, when Black people offered its (their) money, checks, and funds to enhance the public resistance to racism, cutbacks and loss of jobs have eliminated monies available to Black people. Black people have no control over their communities. Jobs do not exist--welfare lines are longer. The monies to feed the handicapped, the aged, and the unemployed all have been cut. The lack of respect for the elders in the Black community, and the low level of nationalist programs has led our youth to respond to the programs of oppression and insecurity as human beings, by inflicting petty vicious crimes internally. We oppose such crimes, and since we understand the conditions that create these situations, the Revolutionary Armed Task Force decided that:

1. The masses in the urban areas must develop people's self-defense units to defend themselves NOW!

2. Programs are needed to set positive revolutionary examples for our youth, and must be developed in practice and in theory NOW!
3. The urgency to accumulate millions of dollars under the political control of the most advanced revolutionary elements for the use of various types of programs in the communities, from cultural to child care to health care, must be secured NOW!

4. **THERE WILL BE NO BLACK HOLOCAUST.** It will be the motivation and determination of the combatants in the field to prevent such an occurrence. Therefore, we say:

--The comrades who are in jail are not criminals--they are Prisoners of War, and they are **HEROES**. They are heroes struggling against racism, fascism and imperialism. The Black combatants follow in the tradition of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Mark Essex, Ahmed Evans, Harriet Tubman, Twymen Meyers, and all those who have stopped the flow of uncontested violence and repression of the Black community. The white combatants follow in the tradition of John Brown, who organized masses of white people to fight against slavery and repression.

Even though this particular military battle failed, the goals should always set the example for our youth and true revolutionaries. To set the record straight, **WE HAVE NEVER SHOT OR KILLED ANYONE WITH THEIR HANDS IN THE AIR WHILE SURRENDERING.** We have not kicked in doors with guns in hand to murder sleeping people. Even though we know where many children and families of the law enforcement agents live, we have never charged the wife for the crime of the husband, nor attacked innocent children.

--We charge the Black community to relinquish their fear of the enemy and to stop robbing each other, and to go to the fascist multi-national corporations where the risk is the same and the act more political.

--We charge the intellectual aspects of the Black community to come forward and clearly identify this era of Black Resistance to imperialism, and colonialism, and interpret the current events to the Black community.

--We charge the artist to create a clear presentation of our conditions, wherever they can.

--We charge the Black and progressive press to do the investigation of our intelligence reports to celebrate the factual information from our heroes. To speak to the Geneva Accords in relation to our Prisoners of War.

To all conscious Black and Third World people: remain diligent--if you don't intend to fight, don't be afraid to speak and resist.

To our comrades in Azania/South Afrika, whom we have aided politically, economically, and militarily, our continued support is assured.

We send our solidarity to all members of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force.

THE BODY AND MIND OF MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA (s/n Samuel Smith) WILL NOT BE LAID TO REST IN VAIN. WE WILL CONTINUE IN HIS SPIRIT AND DISCIPLINE AND WILLINGNESS TO CARRY OUT HIS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE INTEREST OF THE COLLECTIVE AND HIS PEOPLE.

**WE MUST HAVE A NATION!
WE MUST HAVE AN ARMY!!
THERE WILL BE NO
BLACK HOLOCAUST!!!**

RNA STATEMENT fr. p.2

children (ranging in age from 9 months to 12 years) would have the audacity to charge a political formation which has functioned for 13 years without violation of any law, a terrorist organization. Yet, the FBI's tactics here are consistent with its history. In its continuous assaults on Black liberation forces ranging from the Black Panther Party, to Martin Luther King Jr., it has always performed as a slimy hypocrite. It has recklessly and ruthlessly attacked Black organizations and killed and arrested Black leadership on one hand, and defamed its victims with false charges of terrorism on the other. The murder of Fred Hampton, the arrest of Angela Davis, the arrest of Geronimo Pratt, Assata Shakur, Sundiata Acoli, Dhoruba Moore, and countless other assaults on the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and other liberation forces over the past ten years are cases in point.

The Republic of New Afrika is neither an organization or a terrorist group. Republic of New Afrika is the name given to the Black Nation of America on March 31, 1968 by founders of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. This Black Nation has existed



Fulajai Sunni-Ali.

for centuries. It was born as Afrikan peoples were kidnapped from many different Afrikan nations and brought to this country in chains 400 years ago. Our ancestors merged into one New Afrikan people and formed a colonized nation under a savage slave system which regarded them as chattel (like cows or horses) and locked them out of the American political and economic society. The Nation continued as a colony after the American Civil War when New Afrikan people (legally freed from chattel slavery under U.S. law) were denied their rights to choose whether or not we as a people wanted U.S. citizenship or independence. Instead of the recognition and observance of our human right to self-determination, the U.S. government stamped us with sham citizenship which has been disregarded and disrespected by the U.S. government itself since its paper origin. The Black Nation's population has historically been the object of lynchings, police murders, judicial abuse, poverty, economic exploitation, un-

employment, discrimination, disrespect, and other practices, and conditions designed to control and destroy the population in total or in part. All Blacks born in North America are citizens of the Republic of New Afrika unless they choose otherwise. The nation's land is the territory in the Southeast Black belt. Economic and physical terror by white terrorist organizations like the KKK and by governments in the Southeast caused citizens of the Nation to disperse across the North American continent. The New Afrikan population is therefore a scattered one (like the Palestinian population in the Middle East). There are numerous organizations and political formations in the Black Nation (the Republic of New Afrika). Since the present efforts of the FBI focus on the destruction of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and the Black Liberation Army, this statement will address itself to these two New Afrikan formations.

The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika is neither now, nor has it ever been, engaged in terrorist activity. It has also never engaged in offensive and military assault on the United States police or the police of any of its political or state subdivisions. The Provisional Government of RNA was founded in 1968 in Detroit by 500 Blacks from across the country. Among these were grassroots leaders, political activists, nationalists, socialists, workers, small businessmen, religious leaders, students, youth, and elders. The Provisional Government was founded as a temporary government for the Black Nation and as a pro-Black independence formation. Its objectives are to organize political support for Black independence and to lead a drive for a Black independence plebiscite. The Provisional Government identified the area of Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi as target area for a free Black Independent Nation in North America. The Provisional Government has always worked publicly and openly. It is not a clandestine or secret formation.

During its existence the Provisional Government has established schools, sponsored lunch programs, assisted in adult educational and cultural programs, defended political prisoners, and organized against racist policies and practices in schools, colleges, in factories and in stores and in the streets. The Provisional Government along with other formations has been a force in the Black Liberation Movement for over 13 years and has occupied a chief leadership role in the struggle for land and independence for Blacks in North America.

Not only has the Provisional Government abstained from participating in terrorism but indeed it has stood firmly against terrorist acts by the United States government and other right wing organizations. The Provisional Government was founded five years after three Black children were blown up in Birmingham, Alabama; one year after police murdered hundreds of Black civilians in Detroit and Newark during the 1967 rebellions, and only four days before Martin Luther King Jr. was murdered in Memphis during an FBI conspiracy to take his life. When it was founded the Provisional Government

made it perfectly clear it would exercise its right to self-defense.

So, in 1969, when Detroit police attacked the New Bethel Church (Aretha Franklin's father's church), shooting 800 rounds at the 143 men, women, and children inside, the Provisional Government's Black Legionnaires, acting in self-defense, left one of the attacking police dead, and one wounded. Fortunately no New Afrikan died.

On August 18, 1971 an all-white gang of 40 Jackson, Mississippi would-be killer cops and FBI agents attacked the Provisional Government residence at 6:00 A.M. with rifles, pistols, and tanks. They fired over 300 rounds at the five men and two women (one six months pregnant) inside. New Afrikans inside defended themselves and one aggressor was killed, and two others were wounded. The FBI claimed to be looking for someone who wasn't present in the home. Again fortunately, no New Afrikan was injured.

In November of 1971 a state trooper was killed as he tried to take the life of a New Afrikan security foreman on a New Mexico highway--no New Afrikans were killed fortunately.

On several occasions agents of American government or unknown assailants have isolated New Afrikan men and have murdered them. Such

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Mtayari Sundiata fr. p.3

terminated to snuff out the life of one of Black People's finest soldiers.

We salute the traditions of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser, Zayd Shakur, Woodie Green, Twyman Myers, Jonathan Jackson, George Jackson, soldiers killed in action; thus, we should not mourn the death of Comrade Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata but rather remind ourselves of what he was about and what he said:

"I have been able to maintain the spirit of life even here in this grave among the dead, the recently dead, and the living dead who linger in perpetual darkness, under a shadow of oblivion. And to all the ndugu na ndada extend to them my love. Remind them that I have not forgotten how to love nor care, and I do care about them all. Here is to a revolutionary pillar for the future of our nation, a revolutionary declaration of our undying existence as we re-unite in totality, and let no schisms tear asunder what we have joined. We are the beginning of a new day. Revolution finds the seed of its growth and the justification for its development in history. Revolution makes psychological use of the past for it plunges into the future. The role that the victims are destined to play are simply a matter of growth, to grow means to change, to change means revolutions, and to resist change means death. And may each of you remain a light of a brighter and freer tomorrow." Quotes from prison letters of 1973.

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF COMRADE SUNDIATA!
LONG LIVE THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT!
LONG LIVE THE NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

[The above statement is from a call to a memorial service honoring Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata in New York on October 29.]

was the case with Chaka Fuller, murdered in Detroit in October of 1970. On September 1, 1981, one year after Battle Creek police were caught in the act of placing a bomb at his mother's house, Robert Guy was murdered in a bombing incident in Battle Creek, Michigan. Such was the case with Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata, who was shot in the head as he lay helpless in the streets of New York. Chaka and Kamau were active Provisional Government workers. Mtayari was not a Provisional Government worker at the time of his death, or for several years before, but he was dedicated to the liberation of the New Afrikan Nation to the end.

In instances where u.s. agents and would-be killer cops have attempted the assassination and massacre of Provisional Government workers and failed, american courts have been used to frame criminal charges against Provisional Government workers involved. This strategy failed after the New Bethel incident when three New Afrikans charged with killing and wounding two police assailants were found not guilty by a predominantly Black jury in Detroit.

In 1971 the strategy worked, however, as a Mississippi jury of 11 whites and a 78 year old negro convicted New Afrikans after the August 18 incident. Those convicted were sentenced to long prison terms. Their imprisonment and that of many other New Afrikans not listed here is a direct product of the war the united states wages against the Black Nation and its liberation forces. They are therefore Prisoners of War. Their imprisonment and the murders of Black Freedom Fighters are episodes in a long war which the american government, its european predecessors, its police, the u.s. military forces, and various other right wing organizations have waged against Afrikan (Black) people. The war has continued through century after century since the first slave was snatched from the Afrikan continent and 60 million of our ancestors were dropped in the Atlantic Ocean.

The war has continued through centuries of white terror, centuries of slavery and discrimination, and centuries of u.s. government conspiracy against Black leadership. The war is present today as terrorists cut the hearts out from the chests of Black men in Buffalo, New York; police officers beat Black men to death in Miami, Chicago, Detroit, and New York City. Police officers and the klan shoot our women down in Jackson, Mississippi; Los Angeles, California; Greensboro, North Carolina; Chattanooga, Tennessee; and as white american terrorists kill our children in Atlanta, Georgia; Wrightsville, Georgia; Boston, Massachusetts; and Oakland, California. In this war our people are subjected to racist murders from coast to coast and border to border; the war follows us even beyond these u.s. colonial borders into a CIA aided Jonestown Conspiracy in Guyana which murdered hundreds of our people. It is not only a war being waged against our people by u.s. government and affiliate right wing organizations, the war we are experiencing is an act of genocide and a violation of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Under these circumstances some New Afrikans (Black people in america)

have exercised their human right to form a Black Liberation Army to actively and offensively combat the killer cops and the u.s. military/economic establishment which wages and sponsors a genocidal war against our people. The Black Liberation Army is not now nor has it ever been controlled by the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. Provisional Government workers and officers are not members of the B.L.A. However, we fully recognize and support the B.L.A.'s right to exist and combat genocide and fight for the freedom and independence of our people.

In 1776, u.s.a. Minutemen fought a revolution over taxes, the price of tea, and the right to control Black slaves and the slave trade. They called their right to revolution a natural God given right. It is our view that New Afrikans whose children are being murdered, who have suffered slavery and dehumanization and who are frozen at the bottom of the economic system on this continent, have as much right to fight for liberation as did american revolutionaries in 1776 who were fighting for the right to be slave masters themselves.

The B.L.A. has been accused of illegal activity. The B.L.A. has been accused with the violation of u.s. laws. Harriet Tubman freed slaves from plantations, Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vesey led slave rebellions, and Martin Luther King, Jr. led civil rights protests. Each of these persons were violating u.s. laws. We recognize the right of each of these Freedom Fighters to do what they did. We cannot judge the legitimacy of Freedom struggles by the laws of a *lawless* government.

For political and security reasons we are not connected with the B.L.A. But we clearly and unequivocally recognize its right to exist. Armed struggle against oppression is an internationally accepted and approved method of liberation struggle. It is the way Afrikans free themselves from racist colonial masters and white settlers. In our view it is an appropriate and necessary method for our people to free themselves from colonial masters who will concede freedom in no other way.

Our views in these matters are not secret. They are public and proper. These views do not constitute a license for a frame-up of a leading New Afrikan woman in the Black Liberation Movement. Moreover, our determination to exercise our rights to Self Determination and Self Defense does not justify an assault on two women, one grandfather and twelve children with 200 agents, four tanks, two helicopters, and other weapons of war. Nor does it justify the cold blooded assassination of Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata and other Freedom Fighters.

Acts of terrorism like those which have been perpetrated by the u.s. against the Provisional Government, and like those being perpetrated daily against our people, increase our determination to achieve New Afrikan (Black) independence. We will neither be intimidated or destroyed.

We call upon the entire Black population in america to combat united states terror, and to resist the current attempt to discredit and disrupt the Provisional Government and the Black Liberation Movement.

FREE THE LAND!

Chokwe Lumumba, Midwest Vice-President, Provisional Government, RNA

chairwoman of the People's Center Council of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, has been denied access to her attorney, Chokwe Lumumba. After Mrs. Sunni-Ali's right to the attorney of her choice was obtained, Rockland County, New York District Attorney John Martins put forward motions in court to deny her that choice, saying Attorney Lumumba was part of the same so-called "terrorist" organization that Mrs. Sunni-Ali belonged to. Attorney Chokwe Lumumba, a long time official in New Afrika's Provisional Government, is one of the most brilliant and dynamic human rights attorneys in the country. Mrs. Sunni-Ali has the right to obtain the attorney of her choice to represent her case in court and to the public. Mr. Martins' persistent insistence, and the recent support of his allegation by Judge Ben Cooper is a definite attack on the legal rights of Mrs. Sunni-Ali.

We are also extremely concerned by the FBI, New York Police Department, and other state and local law enforcement agencies, "search and destroy" missions and actual terrorist attacks in Black communities in search of Assata Shakur (aka Joanne Chesimard) and other New Afrikan Freedom Fighters and activists. Since November 2, 1979, two years and two days ago, when Black Liberation Army soldier Assata Shakur, considered by many to be a modern day Harriet Tubman, was liberated from Clinton State Prison in New Jersey by an armed unit of the BLA there has been a national "search and destroy" campaign by law enforcement agencies centered in New York.

April 21, 1980, in the early hours of a Saturday morning, dozens of FBI and other law enforcement men, armed with machine guns and shotguns, raided a Harlem apartment building. These armed men broke doors and furnishings, manhandled and detained several tenants, supposedly looking for Assata Shakur. One woman reported she was forced to raise the pants legs of her lounging suit because one agent wanted to examine her legs to determine if she was Assata. There have been many other acts of u.s. sponsored terrorism in New York and the New York Black community has been in a virtual state of siege. We fear the "Brinks" conspiracy will not only be intensified in the New York area, but as it already has, be extended to every Black reservation throughout the united states.

We question, with our communities under siege, who is the real terrorist. We question who is the real criminal. As for the Brothers and Sisters who have taken up arms to defend the Black community we definitely understand and recognize them as Freedom Fighters *not* terrorists. They are not the people who are responsible for terror in our communities, which has been here as long as the first Afrikan slave hit the shore of north america. This terror is reflected in the general move to the right and the consolidation of white supremacy in north america.

In the last two years many terrorist events have occurred across the country. In Buffalo, New York, hearts of Black men are being cut out of their chests. In Alabama, a young Black man is lynched and hung

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May 19th fr. p.3

Minister of Information of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, was seized in a massive governmental raid on a Mississippi farmhouse by tanks, helicopters, SWAT teams and over 200 armed men. This military assault is part of the government campaign to portray a public organization as terrorist criminals--including the 12 children who live at the farmhouse. The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika has led the struggle of Black people in this country for human rights, self-determination, land and independence since 1968. We support Sister Fulan. She is innocent of all charges. We demand her immediate release, and we give our unconditional solidarity to the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika.

The sweep has extended to those white anti-imperialist forces who support the Black liberation movement. Eve Rosahn, a member of the Committee for the Suit Against Government Misconduct, is being singled out by the police and FBI for a massive frame-up and attack. She is a public political activist and one of the anti-Springbok 5. She has been a consistent target of the government's counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), and her work has helped to expose and fight against FBI attacks on the Black liberation struggle, other national liberation movements and white anti-imperialists in this country.

On October 21 at 11:30 p.m., heavily-armed SWAT teams conducted simultaneous raids on her house and her mother's house. Although she was already out on bail and continuing to lead her normal public life, attending every court appearance, her bail in the Springbok case was raised to \$10,000. When this bail was raised and she was released, she was seized on the night of October 27th by 15 cops armed with shot-

guns and automatic weapons. She was taken to Nyack where she was arraigned without a lawyer. She is now being held in isolation and with no bail, and is permitted no visitors. This is terrorism and we denounce it. The D.A. and the press have already convicted her of being "Judith Schneider" without one shred of evidence. She is totally innocent and we demand her immediate release.

May 19th Communist Organization, another target of the government's sweep, is named after the birthday of Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X, two great revolutionary leaders of the world-wide struggle against u.s. imperialism. May 19th Communist Organization is committed to the struggle to defeat u.s. imperialism and to uphold the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations. In particular we support the right of the Black nation to land and independence, the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico, the liberation of Chicano/Mexicano people and sovereignty for Native American nations. There is now a major media campaign to turn May 19th into a "terrorist organization."

We mobilize white working class people to fight organized white supremacy and for the construction of a new society based on human rights, self-determination, the full liberation of women, and the building of socialism. We fully support the right of oppressed nations to wage armed struggle. The state is attacking us because of our principles and program of support for the right of self-determination, support for the waging of armed struggle, and our commitment to actively fight organized white supremacy.

Members of our organization are now being illegally detained at Riker's Island prison for joining in a protest against the racist South African rugby team. This protest was one of hundreds of demonstrations and actions taken around the world to stop this illegal tour, and was

totally in line with United Nations resolutions directing the governments and peoples of the world to protest and isolate the illegal racist apartheid regime of South Africa and to support the righteous struggles of the people of Namibia and Azania for their liberation. It is the actions of the u.s. government in support of South Africa that violate the law and the principles of the world community. Yet those who demonstrated against the Springboks are still in jail, held on excessive and clearly punitive bail. The Anti-Springbok 5 were initially released on \$1000 cash bail each. Since the events in Nyack they have been targeted by the state and the press:

*After October 20th they were brought back to court on a lesser charge and held on \$10,000 bail each.

*When we raised this bail out of growing public support for their case, we were not allowed to bail them out.

*The District Attorney has made the unprecedented demand that we reveal the name of every person who has contributed to the bail fund. This is a blatant attempt to get names for a further fishing expedition by a Grand Jury and to have a chilling effect on support for this case and on political activism of any kind. We will not release these names.

*Supporters of the Anti-Springbok 5 have been harassed, photographed by the police and visited by the FBI; relatives have been approached by the FBI in an effort to intimidate and stop any support from being built. This is all being done on top of the more routine FBI illegalities such as wire-tapping and mail-opening.

Three of the defendants are being held on Riker's Island as Central Monitoring Cases, a special designation reserved for political prisoners, which functionally means: They have absolutely no rights within the prison. They are checked every half hour. They are denied visitation rights. They are denied access to the law library to work on their case. They are refused the right to have a job while in prison. They are commonly referred to by the prison guards as "the BLA girls." Initially, all were held in punitive segregation. They have lost jobs because of FBI visits and phone calls to their employers.

Our office is openly watched by the FBI and the NYPD, and people who come in are harassed; our members are followed, including to and from the recent funeral of Brother Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata; members' houses are stalked by police; neighbors and building superintendents at our homes have been visited by the FBI.

We call on all progressive people to support the people currently in prison, to take a stand against this repression, and to refuse to be intimidated. As May 19th Communist Organization, we are committed to implementing our program, to building a revolutionary movement that is part of the world-wide struggle to defeat u.s. imperialism. These past ten days have strengthened our resolve to fight alongside the Black Liberation Struggle, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the struggle of Native American Nations for sovereignty, with the Chicano/Mexicano people for liberation and with oppressed peoples around the world. If we fight, we will win.

NBHRC fr. p.16

from a tree. In Boston, Massachusetts, 14 Black women have been strangled and stuffed in garbage cans. In Atlanta, Georgia, 28 Black children have been mysteriously murdered by an obvious sophisticated conspiracy and after a single Black man is captured for the murders the national concern around the issue is forgotten. This year, 1981, Ron Settle, is hung in his jail cell in Signal Hill, like many before him in Los Angeles County. These events and many more are the order of the day for Black people, while Ku Klux Klan and Nazis murder activists on national television and are released, and the Jewish Defense League utilizes open terrorist attacks and no one has been arrested, and Black Freedom Fighters are hunted and labeled terrorist. This is the reality today in Reagan's America...the same president whose platform in 1980 the Ku Klux Klan said looked like they wrote.

We must ask, as our Sister Assata Shakur stated from a jail cell in 1974, "They call us thieves and bandits. They say we steal. But it was not us who stole millions of Black people from the continent of Africa. We were robbed of our language, of our Gods, of our culture, of our human dignity, of our labor and of our lives. They call us thieves, yet it is not us who rip off billions of dollars every year

through tax evasions, illegal price fixing, embezzlement, consumer frauds, bribes, kickbacks and swindles. They call us bandits, yet every time most Black people pick up our paychecks we are being robbed. And every time we pay our rent the landlord sticks a gun into our ribs.

"They call us thieves, but we did not rob and murder millions of Indians by ripping off their homeland, then call ourselves pioneers. They call us bandits, but it is not us who are robbing Africa, Asia, and Latin America of their natural resources and freedom while the people are sick and starving. The rulers of this country and their flunkies have committed some of the most vicious crimes in history. *They are the bandits. They are the murderers.* And they should be treated as such. Black people should, and inevitably must, determine our destinies."

In conclusion, we say we will support the defense efforts of the New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in New York and intend to build a mass campaign for their defense. We call upon all seeking justice and wishing to fight against u.s. terrorism and the growing trend toward fascism in America to support this effort.

Self Determination for the New Afrikan Nation in North America!

Free All Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War!

Nationalist Prisoners Locked Down at Brushy Mountain

In the soulful and graceful spirit of Malcolm X, I greet you, Harbari Gani....

To the New Afrikan and P.O.W.'s in Koncentration Kamps around the world, we the prisoners of war (and i do mean war) here at Brushy Mt. Maximum Security Kamp would like to inform you rades that even though we are in one of the KKK strongholds we are with our brothers and sisters in the fight for national liberation and independence on this north amerikkkan continent, this imperialist capitalist state. I feel we must have our five states the european stole from our people in 1863-1865, etc.

Our comrade Sundiata Acoli done a beautiful petition (memorandum of law). From one section of his petition we quote...

The New Afrikan Nation came into possession of its first land and formal government during the last half of the civil war. But the freedom of the New Afrikan Nation here under amerikan law had been established under, first, the confiscation acts of 6th August 1861 and 17 July 1862 under which Afrikans who came into union lines were declared to be free; next, and second, under Lincoln, unequivocal Emancipation Proclamation, issued as "a fit and necessary war MEASURE FOR SUPPRESSING SAID REBELLION," in which Lincoln as U.S. President and military commander in chief said: I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and part of states are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the united states, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons. Finally, all slaves in the united states were freed when the thirteenth amendment to the united states constitution went into effect on 18 December 1865. The effect of this amendment to the now free afrikans was to remove the municipal law which effected slavery, thus leaving the New Afrikan Nation as a free political entity legally on territory claimed by the united states. Before the thirteenth amendment, citizens of the Nation, first freed by the confiscation acts and the Emancipation Proclamation and their own daring escapes from slavery, came into government by action of the union army. During the christmas season of 1864, for instance, U.S. Secretary of War Edwin McMasters Stanton and U.S. Army General William Tecumseh Sherman met in Savannah, representing slaves and free blacks. General Sherman then issued his special field order no. 15 in which he set aside for the New Afrikan the Islands from Charleston South, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers from 30 miles back from the seas and the country bordering the St. John's River, Florida...

From The Destruction of the Black Civilization by Chancellor Williams, p. 95, we quote:

During the period of decline or conquest, europe and asia seized and transported from Afrika as much of the artifacts of its civilization as they could. Cambyeses, for

example, as early as the sixth century B.C. hauled away over 100,000,000 of precious historical material from Thebes alone. Cambyeses was only one of countless thousands who invaded the tomb repositories of black history during each of the many periods of foreign invasion and foreign rule. For these tombs not only contained valuable historical records in different form, but also great treasures in gold and precious stones. In these cases the historical records were generally destroyed incidentally, and not deliberately. The raids on graves and the great tombs were for the great treasures to be found there. But the stolen gold and other treasures were of no importance when, compared with the mass of priceless historical materials that are scattered over Europe and Asia, some in museums, some destroyed or thrown away--all from the heart land of Black civilization....

mpinduzi--As of Sept. 1, 1980 15 A.D.K., nine New Afrikans were placed on lockdown at the main prison Nashville. Some of us were transferred to Brushy Mt. Prison and placed on lock-up there. These rades have been picked out of 1800 victims and sent across the state to the wilderness in the mountains of Morgan County. Most were not permitted their mandatory meeting with the board of reclassification. By so doing they would have gotten

Update

The Alkebu-lan Association of Brushy Mountain--a pan-Afrikan cultural, educational, and political organization--has been under attack by the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation and federal and local agencies. Association members Daka Adui Daku, s/n Dock Walker, Mpinduzi Aminisha, s/n John Willie Partee, and Simba Hawa, s/n Jerome Ramson in particular are being accused of the stabbing of James Earl Ray, confessed murderer of Martin Luther King, Jr. The last ARM THE SPIRIT heard, they were being held incommunicado inside of Brushy Mountain's control unit. These three brothers are being railroaded for a crime they, as well as James Earl Ray himself state they didn't commit, because they are New Afrikan nationalists and because of their leadership in prison struggles.

Other members of the Alkebu-lan have been subjected to unusual harassment and racist attacks by KKK guards. The Association has been shut down; many members have been placed in the control unit.

The Alkebu-lan Association is asking supporters to write to Governor Lamar Alexander, Executive Office, State Capitol, Nashville, TN 37219, and Harold Bradley, Commissioner, Tennessee Department of Corrections, 4th floor State Office Building, Nashville, TN 37219.

Demand that 1) the Alkebu-lan be reopened; 2) that no charges be brought against the three men and that they be released to the general population immediately; 3) that Cointelpro be discontinued in the State.

For more information write to The Alkebu-lan Association, Brushy Mountain, Petros, TN 37845.

a better understanding of why they were being transferred. Also the pigs have made several moves in Brushy Mt. Prison on the arrival of New Afrikans to isolate them from the other brothers and population as a whole.

Brushy Mt. is located in the mountains of Morgan County, very much isolated from anything civilized. The prison has a population of about 400 people. In this population the percentage is something like 15% Black and 85% white, and all the guards that are employed are white; the warden's staff is also completely white. There is one negro school teacher and he is working with the administration (a tom of the highest order).

There are 50 to 60 blacks behind the wall here, 20 of whom are on lock-up, put there by the administration. Most of the 30 or 40 men in population are New Afrikans, battling this racist administration. We are educating, agitating and organizing the unaware brothers that come on this front. However the KKK has stepped up their attack on New Afrikans on this front; also they are stopping people from the outside from coming in behind the walls to aid in organizing the brothers. There have been many killings of blacks in the past few years in this Kamp because most of these brothers was not aware of KKK tactics used on them. We rades have been bringing this knowledge to our brothers in the last few years. There has not been any black on black violence in some months now. That's not to say there won't be any, but if so the Revolutionary-minded brothers will come to the front lines in the event that this do happen. Because we don't believe in killing our brothers.

Also we recently had a brother on this front that was placed on lockdown for being on a hunger strike. This brother was accused of starting a riot at the main prison in Nashville for not eating for four weeks in the month of April. Someone sent a letter to one of the news media in Nashville informing them of the brother not eating, and they did show up, but not once have the news media publicized this to the public of this state. This brother declared that he's not going to eat until someone protests the unusual treatment of black men at the main prison in Nashville and across the state.

When, if ever, Black people actually organize as a race in their various population centers they will find that the basic and guiding ideology they now seek and so much need is embedded in their own traditional philosophy and constitutional system--simply waiting to be extracted and set forth. While the work in this field has yet to be advanced further, some of the most fundamental principles of Afrikan Political Science and Philosophy of life are to be found in the hearts and minds of Black people around the world.

FREE THE LAND*****FREE THE MIND
FREE THE NEW AFRIKAN P.O.W.

Liberation is in Armed Struggle

Brother in Struggle,
Aminisha Mpinduzi, P.O.W.
on the Tennessee front

GUILTY UNTIL fr. p.7

after one of the main participants in this vicious act testified against the others Guilty??? No! A jury found them *not guilty*!!! This brutal act was the catalyst for the '79 Miami rebellion.

Were the policemen who murdered Arthur Miller, 10 year old Clifford Glover, 11 year old Ricky Bodden, 16 year old Rita Lloyd Guilty??? No!!!

Were the Racist policemen who murdered Randolph Evans, Peter Funches, Luis Baez and Ms Magnum Guilty??? No!!!

If these Racist police can daily gun down in cold blood Our loved ones and members of Our community and do it in front of countless witnesses, with Complete Impunity, and always be found *not guilty*. Then amerikkka's justice is *not blind*. Its as racist, bankrupt and corrupt as the other institutions that oppress us daily. And the Lynch Mobs are no longer a hundred thousand strong like days of old. They are the twelve hand picked media programmed Zombies. Who help to murder and railroad us to prison camps, in the name of Law and Order and Justice being Done. They should also seek Justice for Clifford Glover, Randolph Evans, Peter Funches, Medgar Evers, Emmett Till, Arthur Miller, Ms Magnum and the countless others murdered daily and throughout Our history by Racist white amerikkka. Has any white policeman ever been sent to Sing Sing, Attica, Trenton or Rahway State Prison for killing a Black??? No!!! *Aren't our lives worth any justice!!!*

how is justice Blind and *no* white in the history of amerikkka has ever been put to death by a state for

killing a Black??? *Haven't they killed us??? amerikkka's justice is as Big a Lie, as the one about freedom, liberty and justice for all.*

If these Racist policemen/women can commit these inhuman acts with complete Impunity, and always be found *not guilty* then we must not permit Our loved ones to be hunted down, murdered or railroaded to prison, simply because these Racist (govt./press) say we are guilty... If they weren't guilty with that type of evidence--T.V. film accounts of the incident, testimony of one of the main participants, eye witness accounts by members of Our community to these murderous acts, how is it that the Racist white press can convict us??? Remember what Malcolm said about the white press. "The Press will have the victim looking like the criminal and the criminal looking like the victim." Are we guilty because we have been called members of the BLA??? An attack on the BLA by KOCH and company is an attack on the Black Community. They are attacking all Freedom loving Black people, because the BLA is part and parcel of the Black Community. When they attack the BLA, they are not just attacking a small group of individuals. They are attacking some of the very same concepts that we all hold near and dear. They are attacking the concept of Self-Determination and Freedom for Our people. That concept is not a concept held dear by just a few of us, it's held dear by Black people. So when they come down on the BLA, they are coming down on US all.

They want to murder, kill that very concept, the idea, the thought.

Statement From James York fr. p.7

Membership and work in the Party enabled me to begin to look at the situation in the world and in the United States more critically. I began to look at our economic/political/social system in a new way. I began to bring about a transformation within myself that would be of more positive and meaningful value to my community. Paralleling this transformation in me came more conflict with the system.

I worked on the first Free Breakfast for Children program started by the Black Panther Party at the St. Augustine Episcopal Church in Oakland, California. I was sent back to New Jersey by the Party to help organize similar types of programs there. Along with other Party members we developed free breakfast/free clothing/free food/political education/community workshops and services in problem solving in a number of cities throughout New Jersey.

The Party branch in Jersey City came under the same constant attack in this period as did other Party branches throughout the country. During this short period of time while doing daily Party work I managed to get arrested in three different counties (Hudson-Jersey City, Essex-Newark and Union-Linden) for supposedly assaulting armed police while I was unarmed. The results were six months in Hudson County/ three years and stitches in Union County/four years and stitches in Essex County.

Upon returning home from prison in September of '75, after serving four full years in Trenton State Prison,

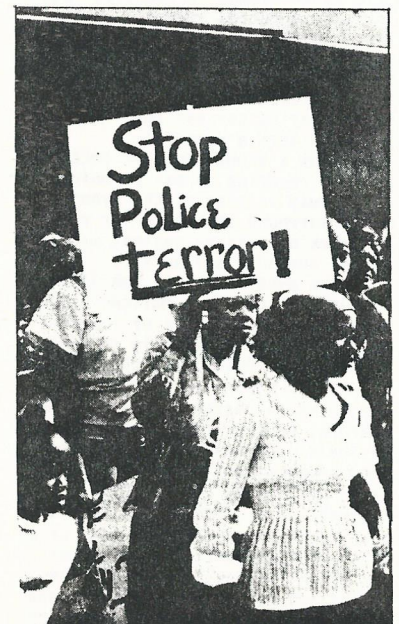
I was sought again in January of '76 by the New Jersey authorities as a suspect in an alleged attempted prison escape in which Brother John (Andaliwa) Clark was murdered and the prison guard was supposedly shot. No concrete evidence was ever offered up by the Jersey authorities as to my involvement, but the media had me convicted then as they do now. Based on my close relationship with Brothers Andaliwa and Sundiata Acoli, who was a prisoner at Trenton State Prison at that time, the state of New Jersey attempted to build a case against me. I left New Jersey and moved to another area where I was able to live in relative peace avoiding the harassment of the New Jersey State Police. At this time I continued my work in helping to

That is why they are attacking the Black Liberation Movement, and why they have been killing us All for four hundred years. With Impunity. They have been trying to suppress an idea, and they know that some of the chief proponents of the idea of Self-Determination have been Harold Russell, Frank (Heavy) Fields, Fred Hampton, Jonathan and George Jackson, Mark Essex, Ronald Carter, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, William Christmas and many many others. That is why they were Murdered. And that is why we must continue to fight every step of the way. We all need to face the fact that we are nothing but 20th Century Slaves, and as slaves our major preoccupation should be to fight for Our Freedom. It is Our duty to ourselves, our families, our communities and to All Freedom Loving members of humankind.

So my call for an intensification of Our Struggle is a call for the intensification on all levels by Us All for Our Freedom. My only guilt is for wanting Freedom for my People. We are always guilty in the eyes of our oppressors, that's why Albert (Nuh) Washington, Sundiata Acoli, James (Gunny) Haskins, Michael (Ashanti) Alston, Richard (Dhoruba) Moore, RNA 11, Herman Bell and countless others have been languishing in prisons throughout amerikkka. Because they were guilty of perpetuating the concept and ideal of Our getting Our Self-Determination. It is Time that we demand that the pendulum of Justice swing back in Our Direction.
Long live SWAPO
Long live ANC
Long live RNA
Long live BLA
James York

Panther Party I have been striving to be a positive asset to the Black community and to all working people in this country. I hope that in some small way I have made a contribution through some of my efforts. I also hope that along the way a few friends were made who are willing to come forth and help us continue to struggle this time in the racist courts of Queens County, New York.

It's time to intensify our struggle!
James York



Chaka fr. p.6

have been so confused and contained that now the agencies of repression are able to pass off most any act of fascism as a constructive move to preserve and protect their rights and make the world safe for their children.

A new and uglier side to this beast has risen from obscurity to become the dominant nemesis in the lives of all who would profess to struggle. Over the years this pack of dogs have laid in wait for their victims to be delivered, being content to deal exclusively with the goings on deep in the bowels of the cave. General and sometimes even individual knowledge of the particulars of the operational methods employed in these pits was kept hidden through fear and the blanket of abject indifference of an entire nation. They did as they saw fit!! This unchallenged clandestinity has made these places (prisons) virtually dens of darkness. Over the years, as incidences of violence and cruelty on the part of those in control became more widespread and indiscriminate, the voices of those inside could no longer be kept from an increasingly more curious public. As the ranks of those demanding to be treated as human beings swelled, curiosity turned into avid support. The beast was taken aback and momentarily stunned. A few major and minor victories were won in the courts and too many believed the beast put in check. In the ensuing lull the beast regrouped and found that it had underestimated its power and influence. With this new self assuredness, no amount of threatening or coercing could bring this monster to do the bidding of those who created it. For a time the beast was content to swat down the flies of ever weakening challenge. This being no longer sufficient, an outside agency was instituted, an out-

ward extension of the same madness. The California Department of Corrections Special Services Unit was now on the scene even more uncontrollable than the parent that spawned it.

At first they kicked in doors on individual and rare occasions. Individual families were in most instances able to keep them from going completely berserk. But then they had only a few members in the field at that time. To bring the point closer to home where it is having a most horrifying effect, on October 16, 1981, the doors of several members of the Black August Organizing Committee were broken down using parole search as an excuse. Parole search means if you have a person on parole living in your home, the Special Services Unit can kick your door in any time they wish, without a warrant. In each case, the houses were torn apart supposedly in search of guns, and other illegal items while women, children, and whoever else was in the house, were forced to sit with guns to their heads and watch their homes being destroyed. The individuals on parole were taken to jail for investigation of parole violation. Under CDC rules, anyone on parole can be picked up and held without charges for ten days only. The rules of the department places no limit on the frequency of such arrests and detentions. This is exemplified in the case of Hashima, my codefendant, who has been arrested and released twice in the time between the 16th of October and when they arrested the two of us on the 12th of November on murder charges. According to another CDC rule, parolees are not to be involved in demonstrations of any kind no matter how peaceful. In this regard, the Pay 'N' Save Boycott was the catalyst that fired their determination to get us all off the streets by any means necessary. We were all placed under heavy and in most ca-

ses illegal surveillance, and subsequently doors were kicked in. They were not able to enter my home under parole regulations because I haven't been on parole for over 3 years, so consequently they invented another excuse. They got together with the Berkeley police department and paid a known heroin dealer \$290 to say that he saw myself and Hashima murder one man and attempt to murder another. All of this was supposed to have taken place one block from my house! They have since added special circumstances to Hashima's charges and are seeking the death penalty for him. *We are innocent of these and related charges.*

The conspiracies that are now sweeping down from all quarters have all but made the primary concentration of most revolutionary minded people simply to stay alive long enough to awaken one more soldier for the ever shrinking arena of struggle. Stay alive is the whisper, pass it on the plea, will we make it through the night the question, scorned in disbelief! The radical left says, "not another atrocity will we stand for," and the ultra right drops ten more at their feet. In the midst of all is confusion and paranoia. No one knows what to do next, but remember, a few scant years ago everyone did. RESIST!

It goes without saying that we need all the support we can get. Our main concerns now are our wives and families since they are now alone and unprotected. Please give all the time and support you can in this area. My wife is about to have my first child and so I am especially concerned and worried. Thank you!

In Love, Solidarity, and Struggle,
Chaka Atthinnin

Unfortunately Hashima's statement had not been received by press time and had to be omitted.

Msemaji fr. p.6

It is extremely gratifying for me to know that in this instance of injustice, The People have not been blind, nor have you closed your hearts and minds to the historic struggle against the malignant growth and development of fascism within U.S. borders.

To my knowledge, presently, fascism lacks an updated, adequate, or refined definition due to this disease's infectious infestations continuously taking on new forms and phases, relentlessly eating away at this decaying carcass that many continue to term a democracy.

Without a doubt, another section of this decaying corpse is being eaten away in view of the events which surround this case--or rather, the lack of a case--against my Black August comrades and myself.

In the past the state has lied of crimes having been committed before they stormed the homes of innocent political people in early morning and midnight raids. In this instance the state openly admits that they have no charges, they need no charges, however they plan to keep us their captives until they can find some charges--which in reality means until they can create some charges. And ultimately it means that the state intends to keep us as their hostages until we surrender our effectiveness in bringing the reality of Political Prisoners, and other victims of this fight for the liberation of oppressed people from

the prisons to the streets!

As this fascist cancer continues to eat away at the last tangible vestiges of what were once freedoms, I remain optimistic that we, the people, will win!

The People are, will be, and always have been the ultimate judge with respect to the historic events of this world. I remain optimistic that we will win in light of the continuous succession of progressive political gatherings which have taken place just since my release from prison on May 5th of this year. Progressive events involving progressive, freedom loving people who despise oppression, and are not afraid to demonstrate their feelings. Growing numbers of people taking an

aggressive stance in our righteous and historic attempt to transform this fascist breeding ground into a liberated territory. People performing their historical duty.

It is no longer a dream or simply a hope, but it has become a reality that the People are coming to accept the fact that material support, continuous struggle and selfless sacrifice are basic prerequisites to any serious/progressive social upheaval. Your attendance here tonight is proof of that, but then, who needs proof?

The evergrowing numbers of people who are rallying to the call brings to my mind what our beloved comrade, George Jackson, once wrote: "I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly but rage undammed. We'll gather at his door in such a number that the rumblings of our feet will make the earth tremble..."

In my mind this passage is a prophecy which goes on to reveal the methods by which we the People "will charge him" for the many, many years without gratification. Let me slow down and deal with this thing one step or level at a time.

Let us continue to come together and "gather at his door" in even greater numbers. We've got much more work to do.

I'd like to thank you all, who have come to show and give your support for my comrades, myself, and in behalf of all of the people of Black August. As well, I'd like to thank you all on behalf of the many, many

See Msemaji p.21

Msemaji fr. p.20

others who may escape political persecution of the sort Black August has been subjected to because of you supporting us, and raising your voices now against this injustice, and showing these fascist war dogs that the People have a voice, a raging and undamnable voice.

Lastly, I would like to say to everyone that to win this war, we must continue to participate in the battles of this war on all fronts, and continue to accept nothing less than absolute victory in our campaigns; such as was the case with the People's victory at "Pay 'n' Save." We must never forget that glorious victory, our most recent victory.

And it is my hope and confidence that our march in this campaign will strike another victorious blow for freedom. All my love to the People! Long Live Spirited Black August Resistance!
All Power to the People!
Long Live the Spirit of the Guerrilla!
Rage on, to the War for Liberation!
and
Bring the War to the Streets!

Repression fr. p.13

(acting Sgt.), led this racist band with the intent to remove this Afrikan. He was met with protest from the Afrikans, however. A physical altercation erupted between those present; as a result, eight Afrikans were injured by gunshot wounds and superficial cuts, and eleven guards and administrators were injured.

On July 24, 1981, San Quentin guards employed Gestapo tactics as a result of the incident of July 22nd. The guards used tear gas on the New Afrikans housed in Carson Section; the amount was so horrendous that several inmates suffered burns to the skin.

On October 19, 1981, six New Afrikan men were escorted to Marin County Courthouse and charged with "battery on a correctional officer." These men are as follows:
Antoine Reed B-93039, Richard E. Richard B-70359, Reginald M. Bryant C-13232, Floyd H. Nelson B-94350, Ernest Clark C-15364, Keith Roberson C-20718.

It should be noted that the San Quentin Prison officials have intensified their racist campaign against New Afrikan men and oppressed people. It is the inherent nature of this prison to create division based upon R-A-C-E. Thus, it has covertly launched the most barbaric and repressive campaign in its history. The administration realizes that these men are being framed and the prison population takes note of that fact. Therefore, we reach out in hope of your support for our struggle. Your effort and support is appreciated.

Behind the Walls
Uhuru Sasa, Tumai

Address Changes

Writing to ATS

Please let us know if you are moved. Send us your old number and address and your new one, to P.O. Box 5548, Berkeley, CA 94705.

When you submit an article, let us know if you want us to sign your name. Otherwise we will leave it out.

Jasiri and Sadiki fr. p.6

attention needs to be focused upon is the apparent ease with which certain politically ambitious characters within the CDC manipulated and deceived the public with respect to the reason and motive for the attack upon the Black August Organizing Committee.

For more than ten years, as Freedom Fighters active in the Prison Movement, we have diligently worked to expose corruption, abuse of authority and the assassination of Prison Movement activists which is a daily part of prison experience in Amerikkka. As the Black August Organizing Committee we have worked to intensify the level of our exposure and to expand our organizational work in a way which will lead to broader participation on the part of the public in the investigation of the criminal and inhumane treatment which prisoners are subjected to at the hands of the administrators and custodial staff of the California Department of Corrections.

The skillfully orchestrated propaganda campaign, the raids upon our homes, our being held in various county jails on a variety of flimsy parole violations, without one felony charge being filed against us, was a predictable reaction on the part of the minions of the CDC who fear any public interest or inquiries into the workings of the CDC. For decades, prisons have existed as a hidden aspect of society and those who profit from the misery bred by prison have exercised god-like authority over the lives of victims of prison with little or no outside interference. Having for so long utilized the law as a convenient shield to engage in activities which are an assault against any sense of human dignity, the minions of CDC view any effort to prompt a public inquiry into their treatment of prisoners as abhorrent. A state of affairs which at any cost is to be avoided.

In recent months the political thrust of the work of the Black August Organizing Committee has been

directed toward making people aware of the appalling conditions which prisoners have to struggle under to maintain a minimal sense of pride and dignity in face of the systematic assault against common decency which is practiced daily by administrators and the custodial personnel under their direction. Battling against years of public apathy and media stigmatization (the practice of covering any legitimate expression of political discontent on the part of prisoners as gang-related or oriented) we of the Black August Organizing Committee have been able to generate enough community concern about prison conditions and the treatment of prisoners to lay a foundation which would lead to the type of public inquiry into the working of the California Department of Corrections which officials of CDC view as anathema.

The raids on our homes, our continued incarceration on flimsy parole violations and the characterization of the Black August Organizing Committee as the creation of a gang mentality are a part of an ongoing strategic campaign to thwart any effort to generate broad public interest in the conducting of an open inquiry into the corruption, abuse of authority and assassinations which play an essential role in keeping certain infamous characters in the seat of power within the Department of Corrections.

WE of the Black August Organizing Committee need your continuing support in our work to expose this most recent abuse of authority as well as the public trust by certain politically ambitious characters within the Department of Corrections. WE also need your continued support in our struggle to insure that Truth and Justice prevail against the reckless and lawless behavior of the Special Service Unit and those officials within the CDC whose political tool the Special Service Unit is.

WE appreciate your support and long to take our place at your side in the struggle.
Sadiki (Willie Stafford) and
Jasiri (Harold Benson)



Interview with Corretjer fr. p.5

independence, other than a colony. Anything else is illusion.

Everything which is not independence, in Puerto Rico, is colonialism. There is no path to Westminster in the yanki Constitution. What does exist is the prohibitive territorial clause. The autonomist solution is absolutely an absurdity whose specter we thought independentists had already recovered from. After the experience of Munoz Marin and the whole farce of the Commonwealth (Free Associated State--ELA) how can it occur to independentists that it's possible to have anything in Puerto Rico which isn't independence or colonialism? The autonomous relationship is, in fact and in law, an impossibility with the U.S. except in one form. Puerto Rico frees itself from the U.S. and after Puerto Rico is free, independent and sovereign, in the sense that a nation's sovereignty is its capacity to, among other things, dispose freely of its product, its economic development, of its culture; also of its international relations with those governments with whom they share interests and with whom it would benefit Puerto Rico to have relations.

To fall to the autonomous plane with the U.S., Puerto Rico would have to use its sovereignty to surrender itself, limiting its sovereignty and making decisive concessions which would re-establish by means of a treaty the imperialist power in Puerto Rico and would simultaneously convert Puerto Rico, by its own volition, into a nation with a puppet government, a nation subjugated by imperialism. This is the situation of Cuba when its war of independence terminated with the intervention of the U.S.; dissolving the liberating army, it passes from being a Spanish colony to a yanki colony. Nicholas Guillen, with the great clarity of a great poet and a Vatican don, in one of his best poems, states: "Today yanki, yesterday Spanish, Ay Cuba! If I were to tell you, I who knows you so well; today yanki, yesterday Spanish."

This is the only way Puerto Rico could have an autonomist relation with the U.S., through a war for independence in which we attain independence and then decide to become a colony again. And I believe that having passed through such a process, the Puerto Rican to whom such an idea occurs, with our own historic experience and that of Cuba and all of Latin America, what he's going to do is shoot it in the head. It is an unpardonable error. The alliance between independentists and autonomists is an unpardonable error, something within which independence is bound to lose and imperialism to win. No, there hasn't been an occasion in our history in which autonomists have not betrayed us.

P.C.: Maintaining a close relationship with this position on autonomism is the situation of the case of Puerto Rico before the United Nations. In the particular case of the LSP, we have the impression that the Liga maintains the position of not participating in that forum; however, in the last four years, you have participated three times. You have participated and delivered declarations on the colonial situation of Puerto Rico. On the other hand, this year you abstained from participating in this forum. Could the companero explain how you see the



relation of the United Nations to the struggle for independence? And to what are the changes owed--what are the political analyses of the LSP which have taken it from initial abstention to participation to its most recent abstention?

J.A.C.: It's because we see the question of the U.N., without taking away from its importance, as a secondary front. And on secondary fronts it isn't necessary to battle continuously, constantly. We went to the U.N. when we perceived that it was important to put forth to the U.N., to the Decolonization Committee, a new situation in Puerto Rico. What is that? The organized appearance of an armed clandestine struggle. We wanted to clarify our position on the scheduled question concerning the transfer of powers. There were two new situations and we believed, and I believe that we were justified in our belief, that we would be the only exponents of this new phenomenon.

So we went there and explained to the Decolonization Committee--so that later, they couldn't say that they hadn't been informed--that there is in Puerto Rico, an armed movement for national liberation, in struggle for independence and socialism, and that there is a rearguard organized for combat within the U.S. itself, which in that very city of New York has carried out several acts of war against yanki imperialism and for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico. We also went to tell the Decolonization Committee that its proposal on the transfer of powers to Puerto Rico, which gives Washington a decent, graceful exit, finds no political sensibility in Washington which can understand it.

Using deliberately wounding phrases so they would be remembered, we told them to await a positive response to this proposed transfer of powers, to the solution to the case of Puerto Rico which the Decolonization Committee would recommend to the U.S., through the General Assembly when the moment arrived, we told them in the following words: "It would be like waiting for a speech by Demosthenes from the mouth of a police dog."

In Washington there is no political sensibility or talent; those people are in a crisis of political leadership which can only be resolved through war. They have no other politic. They have no other political expositor since Roosevelt. When Roosevelt dies they undergo a political change after the end of World War II, they don't have anyone who can even make a speech. They have to import Churchill so that he could go to a college in Fulton to give a speech on the transition to the cold war. Well, then Churchill died on them, and they simply do not have a political exponent, a political direction, a leader who can see a little light on their path, to have decent relations with the rest

of the world.

Because the problem of north american insensibility of yanki imperialism, is not only with Puerto Rico. They don't know how to deal with anyone. I point out, for example--who has been the number one traditional friend of the U.S. in the world? France. You see that France, it's true, helped in the war of independence, but Spain helped them more. The preference and their love for Lafayette and the French, is basically because the French didn't have the colonies in America that Spain had.

For this reason they have valued French cooperation, and it shouldn't be minimized, above all when someone is attacked and someone lends a hand, one must have this attitude. But they didn't maintain it with Spain, only with France. Since the end of the war of independence there has been only one country in the world for the U.S. and that is France. And they have lost that! France is no longer the ally of theirs that it once was. The political break of DeGaulle is a rupture that cannot be welded. They can get closer and have rapproachments, distance themselves and get further apart, but see for yourselves!

A man like DeGaulle, who should have represented French national centrism, a son of the French Army, a son of the sacking of Verdun, who experienced the siege of Verdun (which is what we believe inclined him to understand the colonial problem, for reasons I cannot explain right now; they are extremely extensive) but who was a man of the right, who was on the edge of fascism; yet I must absolve him, and I give him credit, that he didn't take the step towards fascism. Because no fascist would have understood the colonial problem, and he understood it. From his French point of view, as a French commander, of the French military. He understood it, and it appears to me that that demarcation signifies that DeGaulle, despite his rightism, his militarism, despite everything that inclined him towards being a French centralist, and allying himself with the U.S. unflinchingly against the Soviet Union, didn't do it. In fact, he opened a path towards a Communist nation, like the People's Republic of China, with all the anti-yanki, anti-imperialist thunderbolts, the flourishes of Mao and China with which DeGaulle entered into relations. (China is not the same as it is today, which is another concept of things.)

In the same way, the U.S. today is not the same either, master of enough political sense. Look how it reacts to a joint declaration of France and Mexico about the problem of El Salvador, a problem in which there is no decent person in the world who isn't cheering this declaration. Washington goes from boycotting it to insulting it, to seeking the company of whatever leopards with chevrons there are in Latin America, so they can support it in the face of a pact in which France has its interests, Mexico has its interests. We know this isn't a treaty of angelical togetherness, but rather of profoundly political interests, but which lie along the road which history is taking.

And these people in Washington, in a form so coarse that really one must tell oneself, "Well! How far?" They can only govern through terror, which is what they do. The U.S. is one of the most repressive governments, most constantly repressive in the world, and its dominion is

based on police and military terror. Take a little tour through the south of the U.S. or the southwest to know this is the only way in a territory so vast and with so hostile a population.

But the problem isn't only with north american Blacks or with the Mexicans who live in the territory stolen from Mexico and occupied by the armed forces since 1848. It's with its own people, with the very people of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Celtic nation. It's because they have no political talent to give a logical answer, to understand the solution which would give them a graceful exit, such as the U.N. proposes. They're prepared to give what we said --a police dog's answer, when the Decolonization Committee is waiting for a speech by Demosthenes.

P.C.: Don Juan, within the same question, if you could amplify a little more, what political factors did the LSP take into consideration this year in not attending or making an exposition before the Decolonization Committee?

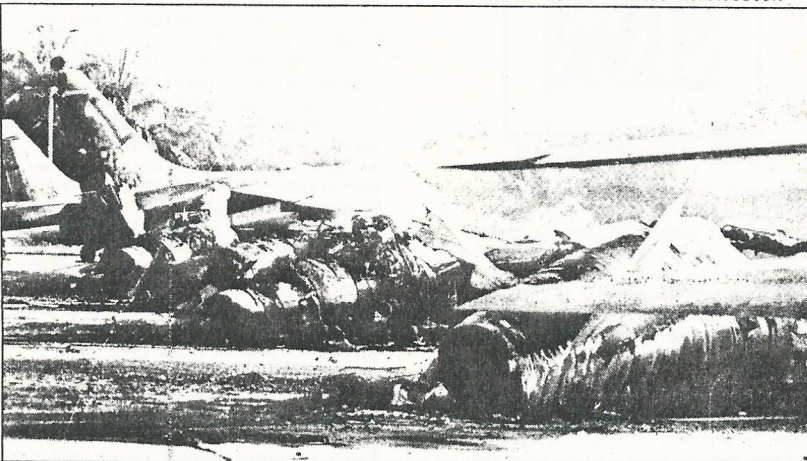
JAC: Well, two factors. In the first place, we had nothing new to say. Second, for us it was a question not of fulfilled prophecy, but rather a pre-vision of the realities, that the Decolonization Committee

why now? We had nothing new to make a point about.

P.C.: Does the LSP visualize the possibility of a return to the U.N. to do battle within the discussions that will take place within the General Assembly next year? We know there are *companeros* within the independentist sector who are publicly putting forward some agendas for work on the national level to make known the importance that, according to them, the discussion of the case of Puerto Rico in the U.N. General Assembly has.

JAC: It's possible we would go to the U.N. in 1982. It's possible. We haven't reached a definite agreement; but listening, discussing, talking with the comrades who make decisions and those who help make decisions, I anticipate that the possibility the LSP will go to the U.N. in 1982 is very great.

P.C.: Prior to the decision to send the case of Puerto Rico to the General Assembly, the colonial governor, Mr. Romero, made a few expressions, which he later reaffirmed in an executive order, in which he invited the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) to form what he called a Decolonizing Commission here in Puerto Rico.* This commission



At Muniz Air Base, the Ejercito Popular Boricua/Macheteros (Puerto Rican People's Army) destroyed 9 U.S. jet fighter bombers worth \$45 million, to protest U.S. use of Puerto Rico for threats against El Salvador, and to demand freedom for the Eleven Puerto Rican P.O.W.'s. —ATS

simply could not continue dabbling in the case of Puerto Rico year after year, from 1960 to the present. How many years have passed? 21 years. These people couldn't continue discussing the case of Puerto Rico, listening to delegations that were there to say the same things. The Decolonization Committee could no longer retain the case of Puerto Rico without taking a step towards the General Assembly.* For us, that was already a realized fact, a fait accompli, as the *companeros* in Chicago say. So why were we going to incur the costs of a trip, the personal energy, to get in the way of a decision already made?

In the second place, since the only thing that had occurred in Puerto Rico in a true revelation of forces was the Muniz Air Base attack; and that only served to corroborate our previous declarations, it confirmed the existence of an armed revolutionary movement in Puerto Rico. That was the only thing which had occurred since our last attendance at the U.N. in 1980. We were there in 1980, so

*This year for the first time the Decolonization Committee voted out a resolution calling on the full General Assembly to place the colonial case of Puerto Rico on its agenda for 1982. -- ATS note.

still under discussion at the leadership level of the PIP and the PPD, and to which they didn't invite the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP); is this a pseudo-patriotic act of Mr. Romero? Or are we facing a situation of mere politicking with a view towards derailing the discussion which is being brought about by the U.N. decision; and furthermore, towards confusing the development of patriotic forces here in Puerto Rico?

J.A.C.: Well, I don't think its simply political maneuvering. I believe that these are received instructions (from the U.S.). In my opinion, he's doing in regard to the Decolonization Committee what the Police Superintendent is doing in respect to the doctors and lawyers. You could find proof throughout its political line, but the fact that they exclude the PSP, now that signifies definitively that it came directly from the U.S. State Department. Because the PSP represents internationally an alliance with the revolutionary government of Cuba; and to Romero Barcelo, the State Department says, "Look, we don't want

*The PIP is a social democratic party affiliated with the Socialist International which wants to reach an accommodation with the U.S. through elections. -- ATS note.

Cuban representation in the Decolonization Committee. If that's what we want to prevent in the General Assembly, why are we going to invite a party that is aligned with the revolutionary government of Cuba, and with the socialist block, to a committee of our own?" It's a maneuver of the State Department. When the PSP is excluded, that's the yanki State Department in full presence, even though it's disgracefully not in a physical form. What pains us is to see the PSP crying over its exclusion. They do it an honor, and here they are crying.

P.C.: Returning to the independentist and socialist movement of our country, in the last year we have seen the development, in different towns throughout the island, of a series of unitary local committees, pushed forward by the patriotic nationalist *companeros*, Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores and Rafael Cancel Miranda. How does the LSP see the development of these committees at the level of the different cities of our island, and how effective can this new unitary attempt be?

JAC: First of all, I repeat what I said at Jayuya a few years ago. We are prepared to dissolve the LSP if the other organizations do the same; and if we reorganize ourselves in one movement, anti-electoral, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, and backing the armed struggle. Now I will answer your question.

This unitary initiative has an advantage that other unitary initiatives haven't had in Puerto Rico. It counts on the prestige of Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores and Rafael Cancel Miranda. As far as I am concerned, truly my confidence in these three *companeros* is total, absolute and indiscussable. However, Lolita is missing. Lolita has made the decision to integrate herself in her party, to her struggle from the positions of the Nationalist Party.

The fact that the three *companeros* are at the front of this movement gives it a seriousness that no other unitary movement has had, comparable only, if one can compare quality with quantity, to the Pro-Independence Congress of the 1940's. Only the Pro-Independence Congress, which was really a multi-faceted movement of independentistas, then failed, inasmuch as it was functioning under a massive loan from the Popular Party. So that the quantity disqualified it, and the Pro-Independence Congress was dissolved. But it was a movement in those times, nearing the end of World War II, which with a leadership that was mature, had strong roots and truly revolutionary fiber, could have brought Puerto Rico to independence. Especially if one takes into account that Albizu returned to Puerto Rico within a few years. Instead, what was organized thereby was the PIP.

We think the presence of Oscar, of Rafael, and of Irvin in this new movement, guarantees that this will be neither a projection of a new party, nor a recourse to regroupment, because then they're going to fail. We have tried to study the movement, going beyond the prestige of the *companeros*, and we have not yet been able to arrive at conclusions. Because we have passed through many experiences of unitary movements in Puerto Rico which end up being movements of disunion. We have gone into some without questioning ourselves.

I have in my possession documents which I haven't wanted to use, which indicate how far the concept of uni-

ty has been abused, and how the most noble efforts have been rejected, the most disinterested and private efforts, so as not to publicize them ahead of time; from 1943, '44, '46, '49, '50, and in the 1960's until today. We also have the experience of how a unitary committee is formed and serves to disunite. Something happens; so that our experience makes us very reserved in the face of a movement of unification, even though it is under the blanket of the imperturbable prestige of Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda. And when I say prestige, I mean patriotism. It is the patriotism of these three persons of which we have no doubt.

P.C.: Is there a political significance to the non-presence of Compañera Lolita Lebron in these unitary efforts?

J.A.C.: Naturally, it takes on significance. Because Lolita is a very symbolic person, the only woman of the group. I have been given to understand that Fidel told her in the presence of her compañeros that the Cuban revolution had not been able to produce a woman such as herself. Is this legend? I don't know because I wasn't there, but I have been told this. Further, whether Fidel said it or not, she is a really extraordinary person. That she would put herself outside this group, and return, at the moment they group themselves to form a unitary movement, and integrate herself as a leader of the Nationalist Party; the people see and judge.

The fact that there has been unleashed a campaign of major proportions against her, with a whispering campaign functioning against her, with all the malice and all the ill-will with which they are capable of maintaining a gossip campaign. Meanwhile the others are presented in the best possible light (which they truly merit); here, the people look, hear, listen and search. I believe that this separation hurts the (unitary) movement. A declaration of the LSP against it would not hurt it. A declaration of the PSP against it would not hurt it, nor would that of any other party in Puerto Rico. But the absence of Lolita, this does hurt that movement.

P.C.: Going on to fill out the theme of unity, which I believe motivates us all, to paraphrase a declaration of the LSP, you compañeros put forward that in the whole unitary process in this country, the clandestine organizations must assume a central role or position in that unitary movement. What has not been articulated is the process itself. How is that process visualized? What is the relationship between clandestinity and legality, mass struggle and clandestine organizations? If the compañero would elaborate on this relationship, it would help us very much to understand the positions the LSP has assumed.

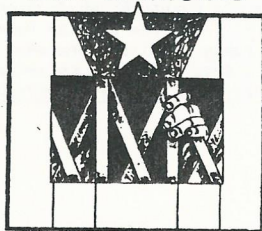
JAC: In the first place we are convinced that armed struggle is the essential form of struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico. What the clandestine organizations have initiated has surpassed the Albizuist tradition of revolutionary coups d'etat, of instantaneous cutting blows, to a conception of a war and of a struggle that is indissolubly united to the basic body of Marxist theory, which is protracted war.

In this process of protracted war,

isn't it inevitable that there will be clandestine organizations and organizations which act publicly? Even in a state as advanced as that in El Salvador, they still have organizations that meet more or less publicly. The army comes and takes a group of its leaders and assassinates them immediately. Despite this, the political-revolutionary, politico-military consciousness which leads the struggle for national liberation in El Salvador has not dispensed with the mass struggle or public propaganda.

So that to think of the total clandestinization of the movement for national liberation and socialism in Puerto Rico now, would be as far outside any order of reason as it would be to put forward the opposite, that there would be no armed struggle in Puerto Rico. What should be the relationship between organizations which operate still tolerated by imperialism in Puerto Rico, and the clandestine organizations? Well, to look for a way of understanding, in which to have mutual comprehension, that both forms of struggle

SON PATRIOTAS



NO TERRORISTAS

are necessary and indispensable. Until the hour arrives when the clandestine organizations in their struggle, in the development of the war, dissolve us by absorption.

What we cannot permit is for imperialism to dissolve us. We must struggle to the last trench, without making any sort of concessions; fighting from the front, telling the country the truth, and our backs to all consequences. We are in the stage in which it is indispensable to have two ways to strike our enemy: the clandestine form, of Montebello, of Sabana Seca, of Muniz Air Base, of the armory at Hato Rey, of the Communication Towers, of all the clandestine actions and the sublime form of exacting consequences that the comrades have in clandestinity.*

But we also must have a group of organizations, a group of leaders which faces the enemy in broad daylight, which confronts all the lies, all the jumbles of imperialism, all of its multiple helpers and cooperators in Puerto Rico. We must have a group of persons, organizations, and leaders who confront the enemy face to face, disregarding all consequences. Meanwhile, the harder

**At Manati in Montebello, the armed clandestine movement took over a police station and expropriated a large quantity of explosives being guarded there. At Sabana Seca, in response to the imperialist murder of P.O.W. Angel Rodriguez Cristobal in prison, and the murder of two other independentistas in a police set-up ambush, three clandestine groups attacked a U.S. Navy radar base bus, killing 2 and wounding ten. In 1980, six Communications Towers controlling U.S. military and civil air traffic in the Caribbean, were simultaneously blown up by clandestine forces to protest U.S. Navy bombardment of Vieques and U.S. draft registration in Puerto Rico. -- ATS note.*

they hit us, the more it's going to invigorate the clandestine organizations; while the stronger, the more intransigent, the more aggressive, the more repressive they get against us, the more it's going to convince our country that anything else (*ed: besides revolutionary struggle*) is a farce. That is our position, and the relation that will exist between clandestinity and the groups which are still publicly tolerated, is going to develop a dialectical concept which we believe is correct.

In Puerto Rico, every time one speaks of unitary committees, and of unity, what is spoken about is always united around those things in which we are already in agreement. Then why the committee? For those things in which we are already aligned, why the committee? Our conception goes much beyond that.

We believe that the contradictions also unite, and that these are what unites definitively. Because these are the demands, the requirements that history has for us to resolve our contradiction. And one of those things that to me--I'm sorry, I don't want to offend anyone, but it appears to me--almost infantile, this preaching year after year that we unite around what we are already in agreement about. We ignore what separates us, because we are in agreement on that. But then, where's the unity? Why then the unitary committee? Speaking dialectically, contradictions are what unite us profoundly.

What is the highest form of struggle? War. And what does war seek? To resolve the fundamental class contradiction, the fundamental national contradiction, of colonial--imperialism. Where is it resolved? On the battlefield. But it is the contradiction which unites us on the battleground to resolve it; and the two armies that confront each other face to face are resolving it. In the same way, it will be the armed struggle which will lead the civil struggle--and in a certain way, it already does that--since they are political-military organizations, not militarist organizations.

*P.C.: Entering into an area where there possibly exists unity in broad sectors of independentism, but on the other hand it could be unity such as you describe, not necessarily based on solid foundations; and this is on the position to be assumed before the constant attacks by the federal Grand Jury here in Puerto Rico, an organism which, in the light of the most recent cases, is going to increase its activities, as is shown by the subpoenas served on sectors of the workers movement and on individuals who function within that movement. What should be the position of independentism before the Grand Jury?**

J.A.C.: That's a very important question, including journalistically. In our conception, the grand jury is everything bad we know, right? It has intensified anew its persecution against Puerto Rican independentism, and it will continue to intensify it. With all sadness and with all frank-

**A U.S. Grand Jury investigating Sabana Seca has imprisoned three independentistas for non-collaboration. Two of them, Carlos Noya of the LSP and labor leader Norberto Cintron Fiallo, are being held in U.S. prisons. Meanwhile, a federal Grand Jury in N.Y. has subpoenaed five Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mexicano activists in an attempt to intern public revolutionary independentista leadership. --ATS note.*

See CORRETJER p.25

ness--and I am speaking to *all* my independentist brothers without exception--we are the guilty ones. The independentist movement has not taken the Grand Jury with the seriousness with which we must take it. There has not been a struggle against the grand jury as there should have been and as there could have been. Not even the pickets or the attendance at the trials has been as they should have been.

And thanks to that lack of struggle against the grand jury by the Puerto Rican movements, those of the legal type and illegal ones, those who resort to the use of the courts and those of us who don't use them have had a weakness. There has been a weakness that I am unable to conceive more than in terms of incomprehension. In the poor terms of "incomprehension," it is that there still remains in the front, in the heart of the independentist movement, a residue of confidence in imperialism. A belief still that words can have an effect; because only in that way is it explainable that after the assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, who is not a person who *loses* his life in the struggle for independence, for Vieques, and for socialism, he is a man who *gives* his life, who is overcome. Then an enemy who kills him, what else is he incapable of doing?

There has not been a struggle, there could have been against the Grand Juries. One of the reasons, I believe, for this, and I am speaking with my heart in my hand, for which the Grand Jury has intensified its prosecution to the impudence of citing Attorney Farinacci, which is an insolence, which is an affront deliberately directed at the professional heart of Puerto Rico, to terrorize the attorneys. "Here no one is immune," this is what they are saying. "You will know. You may have the whole penal code and the whole civil code in your head but we will give you a number and we will send you to jail with that number and that will be your personality. You will cease to have your name." And for that, I believe that we ourselves are again responsible, the leaders of Puerto Rican independentism, the independentist organizations. We must not wait for the Popular Democrats nor the Bar Association nor anyone else to struggle for us. They may cooperate; that is their duty. But it is we who must defend ourselves.

And if in Puerto Rico there had been in the last 14 months an armed clandestine action a month, the grand jury would have its tail between its legs. They were not launched. The clandestine forces have not been able to do it, among other things, because each time that they carried out a glorious action, a group comes out and a chorus of Puerto Rican leaders, independentists, revolutionaries, socialists, and Marxists condemns that revolutionary action. We believe that even though some errors are committed; but errors much more grave than those that can be pointed out to the armed movement in Puerto Rico, the prematurity of criticism helps the enemy.

Specifically, we maintain that no independentist can cooperate with the grand jury. And the manner of non-cooperation is that established by Carlos Rosario Pantajas, Carlos Noya, and Norberto Cintron Fiallo.

That is a minimum. Those are our ideas. They may be disliked, but we believe in them and we believe them to be the truth.

P.C.: The last question enters another area of discussion, in specific the reason or the relation between progressive forces in the United States and the independentist and socialist movement in Puerto Rico. The Liga and the companero have made various expressions with respect to that, and we believe that a fundamental aspect of our process of national liberation will be the development of these relations in the context of the relationships between the Puerto Rican people and the progressive sectors in the U.S. How do the companeros visualize that the relationship will proceed beyond the points which have served up to now for unity between the progressive movement in the U.S. and the independentist movement here in Puerto Rico, where in a certain measure, inconsistency and fractionalization have predominated?

J.A.C.: My experience with North American leftists began in 1928 and to this day I have seen no really positive revolutionary result with the U.S. left, the white left I mean. I do not believe the white left in the U.S. has given us yet the Leninist response. We have worked with very fine comrades, very decent personal decency nor is it a question of human kindness. In this case it is a question of concepts. Our last analysis, which was made in the middle of the 1970's is that to us, they always want to help us and they are disposed to give us money and to lend us attorneys and all forms of aid, if we do what they want. That has been my experience from 1928 until now. With greater subtlety or greater crudity we have always come to the same snare.

And our last analysis, to separate ourselves form all direct relationships with organized movement of the so-called white progressive North Americans, was when we conducted an autopsy of the relation of the white left to the repression against the Black Panthers. There was not one single white person who pulled out even a water pistol to defend a movement which was badly persecuted with blood and fire and whose members were pitilessly killed and killed and killed. In Chicago alone they killed 28 leaders of the Black Panthers that we know of, and that we understand by the press, by the newspapers of Puerto Rico, 28 lead-



ESTA LUCHA VA A LLEGAR A LA GUERRA POPULAR! (This struggle is becoming Peoples' War!) This militant slogan was chanted by almost 400 demonstrators who showed their support for the eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners-Of-War outside the walls of the U.S. Federal Penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kansas, on October 31. This mobilization demonstrated that moving captured Puerto Rican freedom fighters to even the most remote Federal prisons cannot isolate them from their growing popular support. The demonstration was seen and heard by many of the prisoners inside Leavenworth, which is where P.O.W. Oscar Lopez is incarcerated. The march included many participants from the Kansas-Missouri area, and included sizeable delegations from Chicago, New York, Wisconsin, California, Texas and Colorado.

Lumumba Futch Acquitted

October 13, 1981

For 6½ years Clifford Lumumba Futch was locked in 23½ hour a day solitary confinement in the hole, accused of killing the head prisoner Klansman at Western Penitentiary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Finally on October 10, 1981, in a retrial, a jury found Lumumba not guilty of the stabbing homicide.

The eyewitness identifications of two guards, the only evidence against Futch, were torn up by defense attorneys Paul Gettleman and Lenny Sharon in the culmination of a year-long legal and political struggle against the Allegheny County Prosecutor's practice of striking all blacks from juries judging black defendants with white victims. This effort forced the D.A. to allow two black women to sit in judgement of Futch.

The state voraciously pursued the death penalty for Futch, a known black activist for prisoner's rights.

VICTORY IS OURS!

PRISONERS UNION SUPPORT COMMITTEE
BOX 5185
PITTSBURGH, PA. 15206

Sentencing in Prison Escape Attempt

UPDATE: We have received word that Sister Osun (slave name Phyllis Hill) has been sentenced for the unsuccessful March 1980 attempt to liberate captured Black POWs from prison. She is currently serving the 11-3 year sentence at Muncy Koncentration Kamp. Letters of support can be sent c/o Prisoners Union Support Committee, Box 5188, Pittsburgh, PA 15206.

ers were assassinated. That is the painful reality. Lenin says, and we know it by heart for many years-- The principal ally of the colony, internationally speaking, is the proletariat of the imperialist country...Great applause, but we are still waiting for that.

For more information, write *Libertad*, official organ of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, 1313 N. Western, Chicago, IL 60622.

Profile fr. p.10

tions with people of all national identities. The Black Prisoners' Rights Committee moves in the spirit of a national alliance against colonial domination and implore anyone concerned with the human rights of Black men and women in prison to support us. But our main source of support must be the Black communities because it is in the history of those communities that we find the answer to the problem. Through involvement in the struggles taking place in prisons and political involvement in the community as a consequence of these struggles they will become more aware of the connection between the oppression of Black people in their communities and the oppression of those held in prisons.

When we formed the B.P.R.C. on October 16, 1980, our first order of business was to draw up a synopsis to a petition asking that the Black inmate population sign it, giving us their consent to represent them in our efforts to improve the conditions of their captivity. Of the little better than 200 Black prisoners, we received the endorsement of 186 on the petition. This said to us that Blacks here in the Fort Madison penitentiary were tired: Tired of being misused and systematically denied their human rights; Tired of being apathetic; and Tired of being tired. The endorsement of the petition by a majority of the



To contact the Black Prisoners' Rights Committee about their work or to receive their newsletter write:

B.P.R.C.
P.O. Box 3381
Davenport, Iowa 53803



Criticism fr. p.11

when the "horrible" element of criticism assertively enters the unity. Matter of fact, we here felt that the Rades' "Rejection" of the July Function could have been handled in this manner: The function itself could have went on, but with the express purpose of turning it into a group session to discuss the criticisms. Intuitively, we know that ain't no 10,000 nor 1,000 folks would have turned up for such a function, just simply because our People ain't ready nor willing to do that for us. The idea is right on, but not realistic. So, knowing that the majority of those who would show up would be activists, the opportunity could have been used to engage those present to constructively discuss the issues. Maybe that's what the BLA POWs should have suggested, as well.

So we hope that this matter can be an opportunity for different approaches. Maybe the fact that some BLA Rades are pro-RNA in their ideological outlook will be a positive factor to help this get resolved in each of our highest and common interests. Maybe we, on both sides can dare to avoid insensitivity which many time makes things much worse. Nor do we have to be imprisoned to the same ole habits of reacting to criticisms in a manner automatically bound to end in failures to build unity and a powerful liberation movement to win. So be-

Black prisoners robbed the prison administrators of the diffusing opportunity to say that we were acting unilaterally and in isolation.

The synopsis was composed by the original members of the group: Chairman; Lord Nijm El-Amin Shabazz, Vice-chairman; Ed Williams, Program Coordinator; Ron Berry, Secretary; and Jerome Deering, Raspberry Williams, James Cunningham, Murry Doss, Allen Lewis, Hugh Gibson and Ken Gray, all research analysts.

We compiled a comprehensive report detailing the disposition of the Black prisoners at Fort Madison. The B.P.R.C. was not at all surprised by its findings. The norm throughout the country is that Black people are being jailed and imprisoned way out of proportion with their numbers. We sent a copy of our report to the Iowa Civil Rights Commission. Our report shows that Blacks are incarcerated at a rate more than eight times greater than their number on a percentile basis here in the State of Iowa. Although Blacks comprise only 3% of Iowa's total population, we comprise 25% of those individuals imprisoned. Our report, coupled with a report from the Minority Advisory Council to the U.S. Justice Department, shows that we invariably do more time than those individuals from the Oppressor Nation found guilty of similar offenses. The majority of Blacks accused of committing crimes are arrested by white police, tried in a court presided over by a white judge, and face a class of jurors from the Oppressor Nation. Upon conviction, he is sent to a prison largely staffed by whites from rural areas who have no knowledge of, and are often hostile toward, Black people; the Warden is white, the security director is white, the counseling staff is white, the Parole Boards and Release Committees are made up of white men and women (although there have been token Blacks chosen to sit in on occasion). This ultimately leads to Blacks serving longer prison terms,

and while in prison, receiving less than humane treatment.

The B.P.R.C. plans to meet this institutional race repression by: 1) getting our communities involved in this fight for survival; 2) by forming lasting alliances with those groups and individuals we find genuine in their support of us; 3) showing the sympathetic elements within the Oppressor Nation the raw reality of the "Black man's burden" in prison and what they can do to help lighten that burden; 4) by making contact with revolutionary elements within the Oppressor Nation who genuinely support the struggles of Oppressed Nations within U.S. borders to gain their freedom and to ascertain from them the extent to which they would be willing to aid the Black prisoners here in Fort Madison, and; 5) finally, by filing Civil Suit contesting the most immediate threats to the lives of the Blacks here in Fort Madison.

The B.P.R.C. has an able and eager leadership, educated by years of injustice that we've seen committed against the Black people in this country. We realize that, for the Black nation presently enslaved in America, to struggle is to live and the struggle against the abhorrent and dangerous prison conditions that those in prison must live under is an intricate part of the overall struggle to keep the Black nation inside U.S. borders alive. We also realize that without a conscious and active community dedicated to keeping the Black nation alive, our efforts here will progress to no real end. So we hope that we can expect people in our communities, and those in the Oppressor Nation communities who are genuinely concerned with man's injustice against man, to begin to form organizations and alliances willing to deal with the problem spoken to here.

FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT!
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

Editorial fr. p.2

were caught. Now that all these assassination charges have been made, the regime will dig up somebody for the "hit squads" in order to save face. Ain't it funny how all these conspiracies pop up to take over the news media right at the time they are struggling to cover up all the scandals those crooks at the white house are hooked up in? There are also reports that Khadafi is next in line to preside over the OAU (Organization for African Unity), and Reagan is opposed to that because Khadafi refuses to be kicked around.

What we see happening in the Car-
fore we even get the urge to start the name-calling and all, let's just do the simplest thing first: SIT DOWN AND PERSONALIZE THE CRITICISMS AND THEIR EXPLANATIONS TO SEE IF ANY OF IT'S VALID. AND TALK. TALK. SUCH A SIMPLE THING WE CONTINUALLY FIND SO HARD TO DO. WHAT WE HAVE TO DO IS DESIRE MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE THE HEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE POINT WHERE EVEN OLE GRUDGES, OLE PERSONALITY CONFLICTS, OLE REACTIONS IN GENERAL MUST FALL IN THE INTEREST OF REACHING OUR COMMON GOALS OF LIBERATION AND HAPPINESS.

Remember the Martyrs. Do it for the Children and the very integrity of our SOULS!

--Towards Liberation Hilltop!

Black Sambo
BLA POW, Somers Prison Kamp

ibbean, Afrika, and Central Amerika in responding to the u.s. is the way we have to do it with Our nation. That is what we understand the BLA statement to mean.

Arm the Spirit fully supports the BLA declaration that the time for response is NOW.

We are late with this issue of Arm the Spirit because of the events following the attempted expropriation of \$1.6 million from an armored Brinks truck on October 20. We understood the barrage of propaganda from the u.s. media as being designed to set up a particular political climate based on falsehoods and confusion, so the editorial staff, which is still located behind koncentration kamp walls, decided to hold the paper up and bring reports of what has been going on directly from some of those who were close to the situation.

In order to bring you these reports from various forces, we ordered what we had authorized for publication withdrawn. There is no guarantee we will be able to make up any of the pieces we had removed in future editions.

We again emphasize the fact the paper can be published much more frequently if bloods on the inside would have family and friends on the outside take out paid subscriptions for themselves and prisoners for only \$6 a year. We have to have more cooperation from the POWs in getting funds raised so we can get the paper printed each month!

***They thought they killed you,
but I saw you yesterday.***

Assata Shakur, Youngblood

New Afrikan Freedom Fighter



MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA

February 18, 1944 - October 23, 1981

Murdered by Detective Irwin Jacobson, NYPD

***How can we talk about a nation and not talk about an army.
That's not realistic. Every nation has an army. So, power to
the people's army. The nation must come to fruition through
revolutionary action.***

MTAYARI SHABAKA SUNDIATA • 1975

COMMITTEE TO HONOR NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, P.O. Box 1184, Manhattanville Station,
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Pan Africanist Congress fr. p.9

Of course, we were using pangas, we realized that in the long run, the enemy would crush us. And we retreated. Not to run away; we retreated to go and train our people in the art of warfare. That is why some of us left the country. That is why some of our youth left the country. To go and train outside. That is how then our new military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was formed.

And in the process, we felt, therefore, that the struggle was not only for the PAC. It was to be a struggle of the African masses. It was to involve every Azanian man and woman and child. It had to be a mass movement. And we have been mobilizing our people. And indeed, today, those of you who read newspapers know that the African people--schoolchildren, workers, and peasants--are in revolt. And it is for that reason, therefore, that we are certain that even though the enemy is strong militarily, even though he is backed up by strong powers like the United States of America, we have on our side the African masses.

There are four and a half million whites who are exploiting our people. Now you will be surprised--one would have expected the white workers in that country to identify themselves with the African workers. That is what one would have expected. Because they themselves are assumed to be exploited. But what is happening in that country? A queer thing. The white settler workers are themselves employers of labor. Therefore, their interests are different from the interests of the Black workers. So that you find, therefore, in that country, clear contradictions, clear areas of conflict. It is a conflict between the Black and the white, because the white workers have identified themselves with the employer group. It is a conflict between all whites, because they have arrogated to themselves political power, economic power, as against the rest of the black people. And that conflict now has reached a higher stage, that of armed struggle.

There are twenty-three million Black people as against four and a half, therefore. And we are prepared for a protracted struggle, if that is necessary. But of one thing we are certain--we shall recover our land.

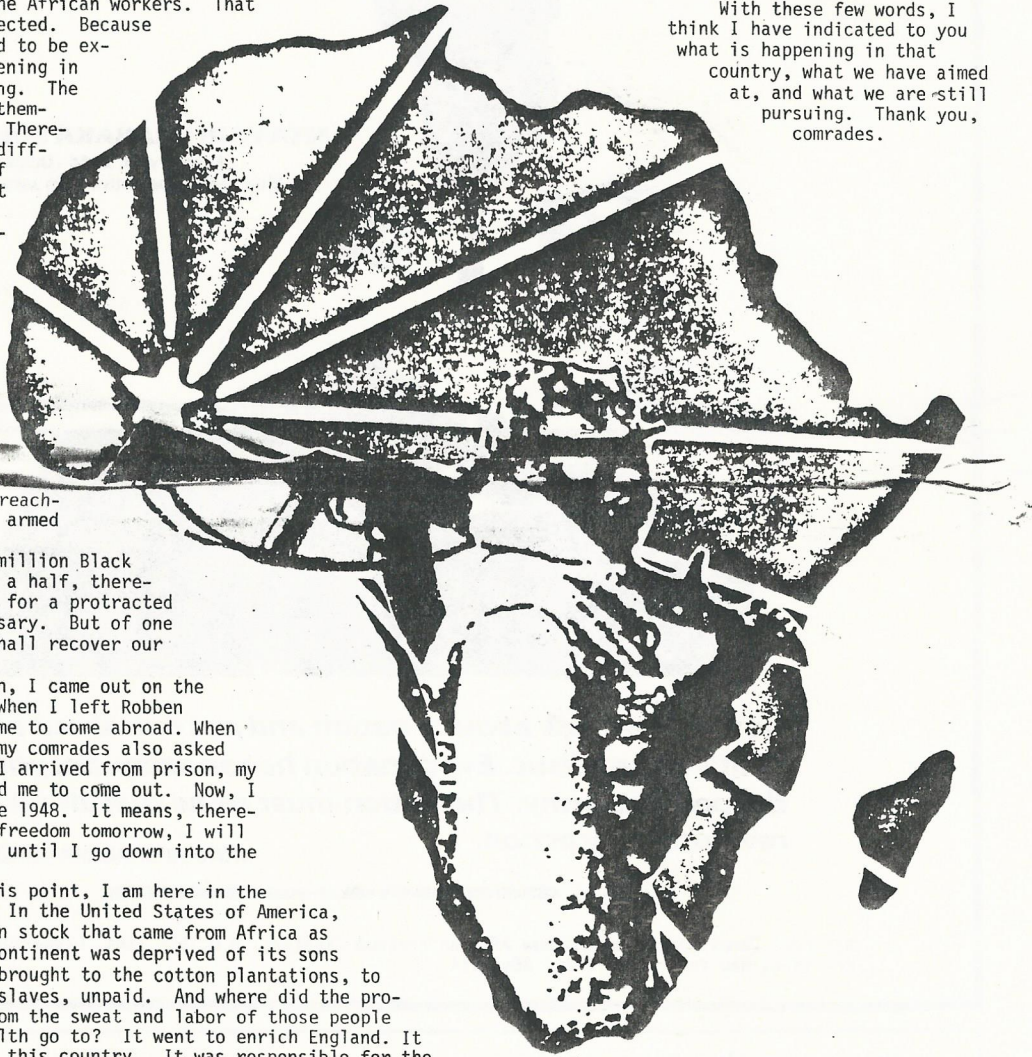
Now, that being so, then, I came out on the first of June last year. When I left Robben Island, my comrades asked me to come abroad. When I got inside the country, my comrades also asked me to come out. And when I arrived from prison, my comrades from outside asked me to come out. Now, I have been in politics since 1948. It means, therefore, if we don't get our freedom tomorrow, I will probably be still fighting until I go down into the deep soil of Africa.

I must say, then, at this point, I am here in the United States of America. In the United States of America, there are people of African stock that came from Africa as slaves. Millions. That continent was deprived of its sons and daughters. They were brought to the cotton plantations, to the sugar plantations, as slaves, unpaid. And where did the profits that were obtained from the sweat and labor of those people go to? Where did that wealth go to? It went to enrich England. It enriched the privileged in this country. It was responsible for the establishment and accumulation of capital, which capital was later used

to exploit other colonies. Those Black slaves that died in these areas, we ought to pay homage to those people, for their labor was used by others to live in comfort, while those slaves, in millions, died in the seas, died on the cotton plantations, died on the sugar plantations. If all of us here still have a conscience, it is high time we ourselves at our own time played a role so that the descendants of those people are assisted to reach a level that all true humanity should reach. It is high time that we, if we have a conscience, join hands with those that want to end the exploitation of man by man.

If you don't assist us, if you don't assist Africa, Africa will go it alone. Because we have a mission in history. We have signed a pact with history and with destiny. And we are prepared in the future, if we are unassisted, to conquer the enemy and establish a true humanity, and to teach the world what true humanity really means. It is with that vision, with that understanding, that we have entered the armed struggle, to free Azania, to free Africa, and to free the whites themselves that are living there from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism and from the exploitation by capitalist vested interests.

With these few words, I think I have indicated to you what is happening in that country, what we have aimed at, and what we are still pursuing. Thank you, comrades.



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